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Wayang kulit
in between making and performing culture

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*To those who set out on their journey,
flying without wings*

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Wayang kulit in between making and performing culture

Por: Giulia Panfili

RESUMO

Esta tese surge do trabalho de campo antropológico performed ao longo de dois anos – desde julho de 2015 a junho de 2017 – em Java, na Indonésia e tenta explorar como as práticas de wayang kulit são articuladas na contemporânea Região Especial de Yogyakarta. Wayang é o nome genérico referente a uma variedade de performances indonésias, entre as quais wayang kulit: traduzível em teatro de marionetas de sombra devido às sombras projetadas pelas marionetas planas, recortadas em pele. Em 2003, o teatro indonésio de wayang foi oficialmente proclamado pela UNESCO como Obra-prima do património oral e imaterial da humanidade – referindo-se explicitamente a cinco tipos: *wayang kulit purwa*, *wayang golek purwa*, *wayang kulit Bali*, *wayang kulit Palembang* e *wayang kulit Banjar*. O ‘Wayang Puppet Theatre’ foi a primeira expressão cultural da Indonésia a ser reconhecida pela UNESCO, e sucessivamente a ser inscrita na Lista do património cultural imaterial em 2008, obtendo acesso à esfera do património a nível internacional.

Os objectivos da tese são de explorar as realidades múltiplas e heterogéneas do wayang kulit, prestando atenção às práticas e narrativas do património. Ao mesmo tempo, o desafio é olhar para além do filtro e do quadro patrimonial, com base na consideração de que qualquer expressão cultural ocorre na correspondência rizomática de vários atores e práticas, múltiplas e vivas, participando ativamente da criação e do performar da cultura. Assim, a abordagem mais apropriada para adotar no conhecimento do wayang kulit parece ser a de se mover entre uma multiplicidade de agentes e atividades inter-relacionados, e diversamente relacionados com as práticas.

Esta tese explora vários temas, como os de tradição e inovação, transmissão e perigo.

Palavras-chave: wayang kulit; Património Cultural Imaterial; políticas culturais na Indonésia; Região Especial de Yogyakarta; arte e performance; inovações; transmissão; perigo.

Wayang kulit in between making and performing culture

By: Giulia Panfili

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores throughout two years – July 2015-June 2017 – of anthropological fieldwork how wayang kulit practices are articulated in the contemporary Special Region of Yogyakarta, in Java, Indonesia. Wayang is the generic name that refers to a variety of Indonesian performances, among which wayang kulit: translatable into theatre of shadow puppets due to the shadows projected by the flat puppets cut out of leather. In 2003 UNESCO officially proclaimed the Indonesian wayang puppets theatre – explicitly referring to five types: *wayang kulit purwa*, *wayang golek purwa*, *wayang kulit Bali*, *wayang kulit Palembang* and *wayang kulit Banjar* – as Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity and inscribed it in the List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2008. The Wayang Puppet Theatre was the first cultural expression of Indonesia to be inscribed, getting access to the heritage sphere at international level.

This thesis attempts to explore wayang kulit's multiple and heterogeneous realities, paying attention to heritage practices and narratives. At the same time, the challenge is to look beyond the heritage filter and frame, based on the consideration that any cultural expression occurs in rhizomatic correspondence to various actors and practices, multiple and alive, actively participating in making and performing culture. Thus, the approach that seems more appropriate to adopt for knowing wayang kulit is moving between a multiplicity of interrelated agents and activities variously related to the practices.

This thesis necessarily develops through various topics such as tradition and innovation, transmission and endangerment.

Keywords: wayang kulit; Intangible Cultural Heritage; cultural policies in Indonesia; Special Province of Yogyakarta; art and performance; innovations; transmission; endangerment.

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NOTES ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The panorama of languages in Indonesia includes a standard language and hundreds of regional languages (707 living languages, according to *ethnologue* <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/ID>, last accessed May 31, 2020), plus a number of foreign languages, English especially. The official statutory Indonesian language (Constitution 1945, Article 36), locally known as *bahasa Indonesia*, serves as lingua franca for the archipelago and has regional variants. It is a standardized form of Malay, which belongs to the Austronesian language family, and borrows vocabulary from regional languages as Javanese, Sundanese and Minangkabau as well as from Sanskrit, Arabic, Portuguese and Dutch.

As regards spelling, the Malay language in the Dutch East Indies, consisting of what is now Indonesia, was in Jawi script when replaced with Latin script by the *Van Ophuijsen spelling system* in 1901, mainly modelled on Dutch orthography. Examples are the digraphs *dj* [dʒ], *tj* [tʃ], *oe* [u], *nj* [ɲ], *sj* [ʃ], *ch* [x], the apostrophe ' for the glottal stop. After the independence, the *Republican spelling system* or *Soewandi spelling* came into force in 1947 and the vowel [u] became *u*, the glottal stop became *k*, and the number 2 shortened the reduplicated words.

Later in 1972, the Indonesian orthography was again object of a reform with the *Perfected spelling system*, aiming to a greater harmonization: *j* instead of *dj*, *c* for *tj*, *ny* for *nj*, *sy* for *sj*, *kh* for *ch*, *y* for *j*, and the official introduction of the letters *f*, *v*, *z*. The latest update in 2015 of the *Indonesian spelling system* saw the introduction of the diphthong *ei* and new rules for using capital, italics and bold letter.

In this work, the updated Indonesian orthography is used and all the translations from Indonesian are by the author.

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACCU – Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO

AHD – Authorized Heritage Discourse

AKNSBY – Akademi Komunitas Negeri Seni Budaya Yogyakarta (The Community State Academy of Art and Culture)

ASEAN – Association of Southeast Asian Nations

ATK – Akademi Teknologi Kulit (Leather Technology Academy)

CHS – Critical Heritage Studies

DIY – Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (The Special Region of Yogyakarta)

DRS – Developmental Research Sequence

ICAPAS – International Conference for Asia Pacific Art Studies

ICH – Intangible Cultural heritage

ISI – Institut Seni Indonesia (Institute of Indonesian Arts)

JHF – Jogja Hip Hop Foundation group

KEMENDAGRI – Kementerian Dalam Negeri (The Ministry of Home Affairs)

KEMDIKBUD – Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (The Ministry of Education and Culture)

KEMENRISTEKDIKTI – Kementerian Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi (The Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education)

KITAS – Kartu Izin Tinggal Terbatas (Limited Stay Permit Card)

KITLV – Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (The Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology)

KOPINKRA – Koperasi Industri Kerajinan Rakyat (Cooperative of Small-Scale Industries)

KTP – Kartu Tanda Penduduk (Identity Card)

MABES POLRI – Markas Besar Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia (Headquarters of the State Police of the Republic of Indonesia)

Pepadi – Persatuan Pedalangan Indonesia (Indonesian Puppeteers/Pedalangan Union)

POLDA – Kepolisian Daerah (Provincial Police)

RAI – Royal Anthropological Institute

Sena Wangi – Sekretariat Nasional Pewayangan Indonesia (Indonesian National Wayang Secretariat)

SMKI – Sekolah Menengah Karawitan/Kesenian Indonesia (High School Karawitan/Arts Indonesia). In 1997, it was renamed Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan SMK Negeri I, Kasihan (State Vocational High School, in Kasihan neighborhood)

SOAS – School of Oriental and African Studies, London

SPSI – Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia (The Indonesian Workers Union)

TMII – Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park), in Jakarta

UGM – University of Gadjah Mada

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WBTB – Warisan Budaya Tak Benda (Intangible Cultural Heritage)

WIPO – World Intellectual Property Organization

INTRODUCTION

This thesis addresses a simple question: How *wayang kulit* knowledge and practices are articulated in the contemporary Special Region of Yogyakarta? By exploring *wayang kulit* in its multiple and heterogeneous realities, attention is paid to heritage practices and narratives.

‘Wayang’ is the generic name for a variety of Indonesian performances. ‘Wayang’ generically can refer to the puppet/object, the character/figure or the performance art. In 2003 UNESCO officially proclaimed the Indonesian wayang puppets theatre as Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity and inscribed it in the List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2008. Through the heading “Indonesian wayang puppets theatre,” UNESCO’s recognition in 2003 explicitly refers to five wayang types in Indonesia – *wayang kulit purwa*, *wayang golek purwa*, *wayang kulit Bali*, *wayang kulit Palembang* and *wayang kulit Banjar* – the last two considered as endangered, thus in need of safeguarding.

This thesis refers specifically to *wayang kulit*, translatable as theatre of shadow puppets due to the shadows projected by the flat puppets cut out of leather – ‘*kulit*’ meaning leather and ‘*wayang*’ shadow. It is a performance art predominantly associated with Central and East Java, even if *wayang kulit* has diversified over the centuries in regional styles, and new types are created. The word ‘*purwa*’ – meaning first, original, then traditional – is used to distinguish the supposedly oldest, classical style. *Wayang kulit purwa* is said to refer to the body of stories told in this art form, based on the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* epics, as well as on other story cycles. However, in the word *purwa* the accent is also located on the modalities of performing, usually associated with the *kraton*, or royal palace, of Surakarta and Yogyakarta in central Java, each place claiming and having a distinct style.

This thesis refers to *wayang kulit* and not to *wayang kulit purwa*, except when specified, since various modalities, and the related voices, point of views, meanings, doings and paths are to be contemplated. A multiplicity of relations between puppets, people, stories, places and practices seem to me appropriate to explore since they are part of *wayang kulit*’s shaping, and participate in the ways in which

making and performing culture occur. My approach to wayang kulit was indeed guided by the consideration of cultural expressions as occurring in rhizomatic correspondence to various actors and practices (imagining, representing, feeling/sensing, worshipping, storytelling, consuming, selling, landscaping, mapping, exhibiting, recognizing, codifying, institutionalizing, learning, training, transmitting, politicizing, touring, and heritagizing, just to mention some), multiple and alive, actively in motion in between.

Despite UNESCO's assumptions under the principles defined by the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage – adopted in 2006 in place of the Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity programme – recognize the agency of people and communities as holders of intangible cultural heritage, the implementation of heritage policies result as highly institutionalized. The creation and management of heritage face resistances to be assumed as a synergy of living activities. Scholars (Lowenthal 1985; Smith 2006; Harvey 2001 and 2008; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004a; 2004b and 2006) have worked productively within the *heritage turn*, questioning the paradoxes at the very base of UNESCO policies that seem to underpin the Eurocentric perspectives of looking at heritage and the narratives of nation, class and science – the so called Authorized Heritage Discourse.

Indonesians and scholars abroad paid great attention to wayang, investigating, attending or practising wayang puppetry and gamelan music. The existing literature on this subject – Indonesian wayang – is close to immeasurable. Meanwhile critical heritage analyses of Indonesian wayang mainly rely on the work of Sarah Anaïs Andrieu (2014), who focused on the three-dimensional wayang golek in Sunda (West Java) and its process of heritage formation; and of Sadijah Boonstra (2014; 2015) who analyzed the “highly politicized” process of cultural heritage through a historical dimension from the colonial to the postcolonial era, and through ethnographic case-studies of three famous dalang – Ki Enthus Susmono from Tegal, Ki Manteb Soedarsono and Ki Purbo Asmoro from Surakarta.

Based on these two consistent studies, I have chosen the Special Region of Yogyakarta (*Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* DIY), in central Java, as the place of my fieldwork. The choice was influenced by three main reasons: first, none of the afore-

mentioned works was conducted in the Special Region of Yogyakarta – the city stretching around the sultan's palace and the four surrounding regencies or *kabupaten*; second, the area is animated by growing tourism, art projects and events, self-made and institutional schools of wayang kulit puppetry (or *pedalangan* from the word *dalang* which stands for wayang puppeteer) and *tatah sungging* (meaning carving and colouring wayang kulit puppets); and third and last, a certain familiarity with Yogyakarta. Thanks to scholarships from the Indonesian government I had already lived and studied in Yogyakarta in 2010; as well as in Surabaya in 2007-2008.

Referring back to the initial question, I would like to clarify the perspective adopted in order to explore how wayang kulit's knowledge and practice are articulated in the contemporary Special Region of Yogyakarta. As previously mentioned, the attempt is to explore wayang kulit's multiple and heterogeneous realities, paying attention to heritage practices and narratives. I chose to position, or even better to move myself in between, the activities and the people variously related to wayang kulit, in order to not further exacerbate the contemporary heritage filter and frame. To introduce and move beyond the issue of heritage may seem a paradox. Let's say that heritage issues have not only pointed out to me what to look at, but also how to look through their lenses. Through these, two dialogical spheres are opened: the political and the conceptual, according to which the discourse persists even when criticized – a vicious circle then, leading to miss the opportunity to do, at least to try to put into practice what is argued. In this case the opportunity would be to dedicate oneself to the many aspects of wayang kulit as interrelated living practices and perspectives. In any case, aware of not being exempt from this vicious circle, the interest of this thesis in relation to the existing literature would be the juxtaposition of ideas and perspectives to approach wayang kulit in particular and cultural expressions in general.

If knowing is in motion, I decided not just to stare at wayang kulit, but rather 'being in it', making it, performing it, relating to wayang kulit together with the people involved. I tried to directly interrogate wayang kulit practices. It is important however to make it clear that the aim of the thesis is not to analyze the many aspects of wayang's arts – even if in part it is also this –, since scholars in

anthropology, ethnomusicology and performance art have largely studied these, and continue to develop this sphere of study. Rather I found the “doing” approach of fundamental importance for wayang kulit. One of the challenges to face was to forget the concepts learned through critical heritage studies and at the same time maintain a critical stance. Somehow it is like taking a step back to bring something new. The phenomenological and critical heritage approaches will be juxtaposed, in order to reveal “the plurality of the thing”, rather than “the thing in itself”. As a result, the analyses can embrace various realities and people’s experiences, as well as interactions and tensions, transversally crossing them for a multiple and possibly more inclusive perspective and understanding.

*

Previous experiences in Java – in Surabaya in 2007-2008 and in Yogyakarta in 2010 – have allowed me to carry out the research with a certain knowledge of the Indonesian language. However, before leaving for Indonesia I also attended the *Bahasa Indonesia* course at the New University of Lisbon in 2014. With regard to the bibliographical research, I assembled a number of scholars’ works on Javanese wayang kulit and other wayang forms in Indonesia at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Library in London on December 15-21, 2014 and at the Leiden University Library on February 12-20, 2015. I conducted further bibliographical research in Yogyakarta, especially in the libraries of ISI Yogyakarta and Gadjah Mada University, one of the most renowned in Indonesia.

Once the procedure to obtain a research visa started, on July 1, 2015, I could reach the Indonesian capital of Jakarta where I first visited the Museum Wayang; *Sena Wangi* (*Sekretariat Nasional Pewayangan Indonesia*, the Indonesian National Wayang Secretariat) and *Pepadi* (*Persatuan Pedalangan Indonesia*, the Indonesian Puppeteers/Pedalangan Union) organizations; the Indonesian culture miniature park *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (TMII); the Ministry of Education and Culture (*Kemdikbud*); and the Association of Oral Tradition (*Asosiasi Tradisi Lisan*). At the first meeting with institutions and their representatives involved in Indonesian wayang activities, I conducted semi-directive interviews, recorded with previous consent.

Throughout two years - from July 1, 2015 to June 30, 2017 - I carried out fieldwork in Indonesia. Most of the research took place in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, but of course it also intertwined with realities that brought me to other places such as Jakarta, Klaten and Surakarta in Central Java, Malang in East Java, as well as Sumatra and Kalimantan. These included a few day-trips, except for Jakarta where I spent three weeks upon my arrival and where I returned for wayang festivals, and for Palembang in south Sumatra and Banjarmasin in south Kalimantan where I spent a week in each place in 2017.

In the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) I lived in Bantul regency, near Kasongan, a few kilometres south of the city of Yogyakarta. I moved by motorbike or bicycle to reach places of interest for the research. In Gendeng village, an area of wayang kulit artisans or *pengrajin*, I started learning *tatah sungging* (wayang kulit puppets' carving and colouring) and I attended *tatah sungging* practical classes at the Community State Academy of Art and Culture (*Akademi Komunitas Negeri Seni Budaya Yogyakarta AKNSBY*) in 2015-2016. Together with *tatah sungging* classes, I attended the first semester of the theoretical and practical course of *pedalangan* - wayang puppetry from the word *dalang*, which stands for wayang puppeteer - at the University of Arts (*Institut Seni Indonesia*, abbreviated ISI) of Yogyakarta. ISI Yogyakarta in the person of Prof. Dr. Dewanto Sukistono was the Indonesian counterpart of the research. In the kraton or royal palace area I attended one year of the *pedalangan* evening course at the traditional school named *sanggar Habirandha* and the course of basic singing and vocal technique of *macapat* at *sanggar Hadiningrat*.

The diverse people I met and talked with seemed attentive and helpful, which at the beginning was exciting and even reassuring, introducing me to other people who were involved in wayang kulit practices to a greater or lesser degree. Often however comments and questions about the fact that I was a woman, a *bule* (foreigner) with lighter skin, and going around alone, were addressed to me. Attentions of this kind moved between the generous inclination, offering help and serenity, and the sporadic fall into servility or other interests, mainly economic and sexual. For some persons, what is of value is the alleged economic facility and libertinism a European carries.

Most of the conversations with people I met were conducted in Indonesian, sometimes in English or in a combination of the two languages; I recorded some conversations with previous consent. Nevertheless I did not know the Javanese language in its various levels, which allows one to understand what dalang says in most of the wayang performances. During my stay in Indonesia I attended a hundred wayang performances and many wayang festivals in which short performances are done. In an attempt to reduce this linguistic limitation I had some private lessons in the Javanese language at the cultural house of *Rumah Tembi*, but the time needed to learn and manage the Javanese language as well as the art of wayang is much longer than two years.

Drawing too played an important role during my research as an instrument of observation, of analyses, of learning, of dialogue, of expression and of experiment. Some of the drawings/sketches done during the fieldwork were exhibited during the *Diari di Viaggio* (Travel's Diaries) Festival 2019 held in Ferrara, Italy on May 10-12, 2019. Alternatively to drawing during my research I also used photography, video and audio recording for interviews, since each medium has its strengths and weaknesses depending on the situations faced. Later, in the elaboration of this thesis, I developed the idea of making comics in order to use and combine these instruments, in an organized way. To do this I attended comics' classes during three years from 2017 to 2020 at the *Scuola Romana dei Fumetti* in Rome. Comics offer the possibility of playing with the fragmentation of experience and of building a narrative, juxtaposing those same fragments that previously had different forms. At the same time the comics' form allows for non-linear graphic narratives. Therefore, comics parts are in the middle, at the beginning or at the end of chapters I, II, III, V and VII.

I also participated in conferences with papers based on the research I was conducting; these presentations and discussions were fruitful to elaborate this thesis. While in Yogyakarta, the 4th International Conference for Asia Pacific Art Studies (ICAPAS) was held on October 18-19, 2016 and I presented a paper entitled "Making Wayang Along Anthropology and Art", later published and available online at <http://journal.isi.ac.id/index.php/IJCAS/article/view/1836>. Another paper entitled

“Drawing in between” was presented at the conference *Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) 2018: Art, Materiality and Representation*, held on June 1-3, 2018 at the British Museum, London. Finally I presented the paper entitled “The Nusantara performative body in between political activism and international invitation, from birth to death, in never-ending transition” at the 18th International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) World Congress held on July 16-20, 2018 in Florianópolis, Brazil.

During the PhD programme in *Anthropology – Politics and Images of Culture and Museology*, doctoral seminars were held in 2015/2016 and in 2016/2017 with the participation of the teaching staff, doctoral students and invited professors to present and discuss chapters still in the maturation and systematization phase. They have been very helpful for the problematization and reformulation of some of the issues and perspectives adopted.

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The argument of this thesis unfolds in seven chapters.

Chapter I “Apa? Anthropology Performance Art” is dedicated to the methodology – or non-methodology – of the research, that is fieldwork through participant observation and first-person practical/bodily involvement in the learning experiences, semi-directional interviews, conversations and long discussions in informal situations, photography, audio and video recording, and drawing. Sharing activities and conversing with many individuals – puppeteers, singers and musicians, students, artisans, artists, teachers and professors, political representatives, academics, spectators, *kejawan* followers, experts of ceremonies – was of utmost importance in the fieldwork.

Chapter II “Wayang Puppet Theatre of Indonesia? From ‘outstanding’ to ‘representative’ ICH of Humanity” explicitly addresses heritage issues, from UNESCO international debates to the Indonesian national level. It provides the theoretical and historical framework for the emergence of the concept of intangible cultural heritage coined by UNESCO and its application/appropriation in Indonesia by one of the many State Parties. The processes – choice and preparation, proclamation, and report of

achievements – that invested wayang puppet theatre as the first Indonesian candidacy for and proclamation by UNESCO as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity is retraced, by calling into question the institutions, organizations – Sena Wangi and Pepadi mainly – and agents involved. Indonesian socio-political and legislative issues are also analyzed in historical perspective, through which continuities and changes can be found.

With Chapter III “*Jogja Istimewa*. Moving through and shaping the Special Region of Yogyakarta” I take a closer look at the place where the fieldwork took place, thus focusing on the activities shared with people. The Special Region of Yogyakarta is delineated through the pathways that were opened to me by investigating wayang kulit and that turned out to be culturally meaningful. Movements themselves articulate the place at the same time that they are given meaning by it. In other words, this interactive relationship between place and movement reveals the significances imprinted to place with stories, people lives and things related to wayang. I then analyze how heritage, political and religious strengths, together with educational resolutions, are interrelated in shaping cultural and touristic narratives and programmes in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (*Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* DIY), that often rely on enlivened concepts and stories. The conception and set up of the Community State Academy of Art and Culture (*Akademi Komunitas Negeri Seni Budaya Yogyakarta* AKNSBY) where I attended *tatah sungging* (carving and colouring wayang kulit puppets) classes, provided an example of a strict relation of training programmes with cultural and touristic ones – the Cultural and Touristic Villages (*Desa Budaya* and *Desa Wisata*).

Chapter IV “Making Wayang Performing” tells a personal anecdote on making wayang kulit puppets – thus on learning *tatah sungging* with AKNSBY students – in order to point out the importance of selecting materials; the correspondence between maker, materials and surroundings; and the correlation between making and performing. It follows that the distinction between tangible and intangible, between object and practice, disappears in regard to wayang kulit making-performing, despite the fact that at the base of the heritage enterprise there are dynamics of categorization and inclusivity/exclusivity for the sake of recognition.

Similar dynamics are found within contemporary arts, as Chapter V “Contemporary arts in the shadow of wayang” explores. Contemporary artistic expressions – from *wayang kontemporer* to visual arts borrowing wayang aesthetics, and performance art not specifically related to wayang – are considered and analyzed in this chapter. New experimentations on wayang in particular are variously welcomed among the audience and the practitioners, in ways that resonate with heritage discourses on entertainment versus high quality art. My conversation with the performance artist Iwan Wijono is partly reported in order to compare some of his considerations and critical issues with wayang performance and environment.

How wayang kulit practices, knowledge and skills in contemporary Indonesia, and in Yogyakarta in particular, found places and are kept alive is discussed in Chapter VI “Wayang kulit transmissions as preserving and embodiment-remembering”. What is perceived as a growing need for “taking care of” seems to be crucially related to the matter of “cultural transmissions” that involves filtering the acquired awareness, knowledge and skills to pass to someone else, then preserved through time from one to another or ‘re-membered’ – meaning both sustained in memory, and done once more. How the processes of learning and transmitting wayang kulit knowledge and skills occur in DIY, and to what extent the inclusion of wayang kulit on the UNESCO list has contributed to increasing and/or changing it, is here analyzed, with a focus on teaching modalities, or as it may be said, cultural transmissions through expert guidance. Among other things a *rasa* involvement, delight and union with wayang kulit is vividly encouraged, then a *rasa-enjoying-oneness* attitude is explored through scholars’ studies, discussions with my interlocutors and personal experiences.

If in Yogyakarta in particular, and in Central Java in general, wayang kulit enjoys a certain liveliness, the same seems not to be the case for *wayang kulit Palembang* and *wayang kulit Banjar*. According to the Sena Wangi’s file for a UNESCO candidature, both wayang kulit Palembang in South Sumatra and wayang kulit Banjar in South Kalimantan are endangered and received support by UNESCO. I went to Palembang in March 2017 and to Banjarmasin in April 2017, for a week in each place, in order to perceive the reasons and circumstances for considering an intangible cultural heritage endangered. The main aim was to give an account of how

the sanggars and the people involved are working as a result of UNESCO's recognition. Chapter VII "Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in danger?" reports in comics the encounters with practitioners and/or representatives of both wayang kulit Palembang and wayang kulit Banjar. I attempted to visualize in comics' form the voices and the bodies of the individuals met; to contextualize the interviews and/or talks; and to describe how I had access to each of them, with triple hopes of creating a more organic vision, providing subtle aspects that could not be conveyed by means of texts, and conducting the reader along the paths opened.

The official speeches, interviews and conversations referred to in the central body of this thesis are transcribed and/or translated in the Appendices. Interviews and conversations were recorded with prior consent. A glossary at the end might help the reader.

1.

Apa? Anthropology Performance Art¹

“The boundaries of art and science (especially human sciences) are ideological and shifting, and intellectual history is itself enmeshed in these shifts. Its genres do not remain firmly anchored. Changing definitions of art or science must provoke new retrospective unities, new ideal types for historical description. In this sense, ethnographic surrealism is an utopian construct, a statement at once about past and future possibilities for cultural analysis” (Clifford 1988: 118)



René Magritte
The False Mirror
Paris 1929

Methodology or non methodology

It is common use to describe the methodology or the methodologies adopted by the researcher in social sciences, anthropology in particular. It can undoubtedly be fruitful for contextualization and validation of the material gathered, conferring a greater authority in a certain way. However, I dare say it is pretence to outline a linear correspondence between the premises and declarations of intent, no less the ways to grasp them, and the outcome. I don't think that “the collected data and materials have to become flesh to enter the skeleton”² in a kind of scientific invention or rather scientific stunt. Permeable boundaries affect the research outline and its methodology. This is not to say that the investigation suggests the approach,

¹ This chapter is partly based on “Making Wayang Along Anthropology and Art”, a paper I presented at the 4th International Conference for Asia Pacific Art Studies (ICAPAS) held at Yogyakarta on October 18-19, 2016 and published online: <http://journal.isi.ac.id/index.php/IJCAS/article/view/1836>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

Apa? is a play on words: it is the acronym of Anthropology Performance and Art, and in Indonesian it stands for *what?*

² Expression used in a university class on October 11, 2013.

in a kind of “the medium makes the content” or vice-versa, but rather that they shape each other, opening up towards the world.

The issue of methodology nonetheless led to debates concerning qualities of anthropology and ethnography. According to Signe Howell (2018), scholars are divided into those who defend the separation between anthropological theorizing and ethnographic description as having two distinct, but inseparable approaches, briefly put, two sides of the same coin; and those scholars who seem not to appreciate the epistemological consequences of such a unity (Howell 2018: 10). Ethnography is equated with the work of describing people and cultures: “the recording and analysis of a culture or society, usually based on participant-observation and resulting in a written account of a people, place or institution” (Coleman and Simpson 2017). Great examples can be found in travel literature and anthropological studies especially, as ethnography is historically and deeply inscribed in this discipline – “anthropology without it is an empty knowledge. Ethnography is the representations and writings of anthropology that allow its discursiveness” (Fabietti and Matera 1997 *my translation from Italian*).

Ethnography is mostly considered as an outcome or a method of the research in anthropology. On the contrary, Tim Ingold (2008; 2017) argues instead that ethnography is not a method, but rather has its own methods. He defends the autonomy and distinction between ethnography and anthropology, as endeavours of different kinds. Simply, they are not the same and may be complementary. Moreover, according to Ingold, participant observation is an anthropological way of working, an ontological commitment to *corresponding* with people, not a method of ethnographic data collection. Far from being a contradiction in terms as often described, participant observation should be understood as educational, as a way of learning and even possibly transformative, as Ingold suggests. Later in the course of this thesis I shall return to the educational and transformative character of participant observation.

As it is no longer exclusive to anthropologists nor relegated to the understanding and description of geographically remote cultures, participant observation is nowadays certainly more at hand. It is adopted by many researchers from disciplines other than anthropology and is also directed toward the urban

contexts and the multicultural societies of the contemporary world. Its recognition shifted from being a technique or a way for achieving anthropological knowledge, to covering a theoretical-epistemological centrality as a fundamental process of the research. This is also reflected in ethnography. Both bring the signs of “cultural turns” which can be summarized in the reflexive turn, the crisis of representation and the questioning of scientific authority. To date, academic custom wants one of the central tasks of anthropological research to be qualitative research in the field, the purpose of which is to achieve an understanding of local knowledge, values and practices from the “native’s point of view” and describe it through ethnography. Fieldwork juxtaposes ethnographic knowledge – contemporaneity and “being” – with a previous narrative.

According to the Developmental Research Sequence (DRS) method, among the series of tasks to carry out in a kind of cyclical sequence of qualitative research, ethnography remains the last step of the process of investigation, while the cycle seems to begin with “the selection of a research project” (Spradley 1980: 28). Handbooks on methodology³ like the one above are accessible tools for learning through past experiences, techniques and challenges. At the same time, in order to solidify methodological knowledge, reading and reflections are to be flanked by doing, bodily. I would not consider “writing the ethnography” as a goal either of the researcher or of the research. Likewise, there is not really a starting point, since the research process itself has its roots in the individual and collective’s previous experiences or projections – whether they are more conscious and explicit or less so. According to hermeneutics, the presuppositions of thoughts are provisional guidelines that characterize our openness to the world and allow us to have experiences under which all that we meet may tell us something.

Borrowing the cyclical movement of the above-mentioned DRS method, it is probably the cyclical process itself, continuously contextual and creative, without a beginning or an end, that permits validity and fecundity to corroborated and conferred on knowledge, understanding and experience. Anthropological research and “fieldwork itself might be viewed as a performing art” in which “performance

³ In regard to the methodologies for heritage studies, see Sørensen and Carman 2009.

comes first, script comes later” (Wolcott 2005: 75). Not just in a written form, ethnography surely enables us to give shapes – whether filmed, drawn, sound-recorded, multi-media or sensorial – to the infinite possibilities of dialogue and communication, reflexivity and thoughts. In this circularity of (re)searching then, it becomes necessary to make the paths taken, reversed and redirected explicit for both the *insights* and the *exsights*, as a mirror in which a kind of temporary guide is reflected.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research process, with its afterthoughts, changes of directions, mistakes and intuitions. I would like to emphasize how drawing became a crucial practice in the creative process of the research. While attempting to do so, through both writing and drawing, I realized that the knowledge is actually there, as if inscribed in the body and in the experience, the smoke and the polish taken away. However, aware of the unavoidable and nevertheless not less unbearable fragmentations of experiences, reflections, sensations, actions and other aspects of life, the conveyed resonances of the research cannot exactly correspond to reality, since words are words and images are images. The shifting dimensions of life pose the problem of anthropological description and theorizing within ethnography. Ethnographic knowledge happens as an *allusionary* experimental and interrogative practice, as do drawing and performing, too.

The creative process of research

It is said the first thing a researcher should consider is the scope of investigation. The research scope ranges along a continuum between *macro* and *micro* dimensions, leading one to find, adjust and/or innovate the way to move. To put it in philosophical terms, the questions determine all knowledge and human doing and are decisive for the choice of the good (Gadamer 1960).

In the early configuration of this doctoral research project on the Javanese wayang kulit, I myself questioned the reasons for embarking on doing it, as well as the scope. I found my curiosity for various art forms and practices to be determinant. I cannot say for sure what switched my attentions to wayang kulit, although I remember well when I first stumbled on a wayang kulit performance. It was one

night during my stay at Surabaya, in East Java, with the 2007-2008 *Darmasiswa* Scholarship for learning the Indonesian language, art and culture, from which experience emerged my bachelor's thesis (Panfili 2009). At that time, wayang kulit had already exercised a kind of magnetic energy on me for combining the plastic art of the puppets with its graphic projections of the shadow, the mobility of images with oral recitation and improvisation, the epic literature with music, and everything that occurs around it. However it was during my stay in Portugal – searching for a relationship between the two countries and cultures, especially in *kroncong* music – that my curiosity for and interest in wayang kulit resurfaced, mainly through collections in Lisbon, in the Museu de Etnologia, Museu do Oriente and Museu da Marioneta.

To find material signs and imaginaries elsewhere – in Portugal, and somewhere else, Indonesia – motivated me to question how elements of continuities and changes as well as of materiality and performance give continuous and ubiquitous existences to wayang kulit, in a sort of tension in between. Wayang kulit together with wayang golek puppets – both the best-known and widespread also outside Indonesia – were displayed in specific museums, where the dimension of performativity is mainly set apart. How to explore both the materiality of the objects and their agency or performativity together? How can wayang kulit puppets and performance affect people in such heterogeneous ways and places? How can we understand and explain wayang kulit's long-lived existence and regeneration, considering that each interaction is potentially a new one, then changing its meaning? I first wondered if it were possible to problematize these matters from the point of view of the objects, namely the wayang kulit puppets displayed and/or collected.

These questions were reinvigorated by the growing interest in the academic ground for intangible cultural heritage. The doctoral program to which I applied “aims to provide a diversified and critical approach to contemporary issues related to the production and reproduction of cultural forms with special emphasis on the Intangible Cultural Heritage”. My initial plan and research proposal was to focus on a private collection of wayang kulit puppets and to take the first steps regarding the materiality and immateriality of the puppets. Associated with objects are the social

dynamics that neither start nor end with the objects. After the so-called “material culture turn”, material culture came to be mostly considered as a way to look at the society (Appadurai 1986). The function of the object was no longer central, but its circulation through space awoke interest for researchers in cultural areas. In the specificity of anthropological studies, the objects are recognized as being imbued with and affected by social relations. The relevance of the objects is then transposed to the intangible, the somehow invisible relationships that go through the material and geographic areas. The objects, including those inherited from the past, are renewed of meanings through circulation and in present times, assuming that the past has meaning in relation to the present (Butler 2006).

At the time of the project design, I found that it might be interesting to elaborate an online world map or a platform of dialogue that could visualize the Indonesian wayang kulit in collections all over the world. The idea was in order to acquire a wide view on the diffusion of wayang kulit, at international and national levels, reflecting present and past policies to encourage its vitality. However, very soon I faced difficulties in tracing the puppets’ style and provenance due to the lack of information on the collections as well as to lack of experience and skill on my part in conservation and museum practices and theories. Thus the path of the anthropological research was more suitable.

Due to the great attention paid to wayang kulit, both among Indonesians and scholars abroad, in investigating, attending or practising wayang puppetry and on gamelan music, bibliographic research was precious for learning about wayang kulit. The number of scholarly works on wayang kulit and other wayang forms I assembled at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Library in London on December 15-21, 2014 and at Leiden University Library⁴ on February 12-20, 2015 was a bit scary, together with the annotated bibliography gathered by Clara van Groenandael (1987). I went for two years’ fieldwork from July 2015 to June 2017 on the island of Java, Indonesia, with the feeling of not having defined something to search for and/or having well-formulated questions to be answered. The only pillars from which to start were Yogyakarta, wayang kulit, puppet making and performing,

⁴ The Library nowadays includes the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde) and the KITLV-Jakarta office.

intangible cultural heritage issues, and the fact that wayang kulit is also classified on the UNESCO list.

The choice of the city of Yogyakarta and its surroundings, forming the Special Region of Yogyakarta (*Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* DIY), as the main location of fieldwork was suggested by its multifaceted and challenging opportunities to meet various and interrelated realities: from the urban area that stretches around the sultan's palace to the more rural surrounding areas; from increasing tourism to a local growing artistic vivacity; from the traditional schools of wayang kulit to the specific puppetry course at the local arts university. The choice was also favoured by a certain familiarity with the place, since I had stayed in Yogyakarta in 2010 for three months with the *Indonesian Art and Culture* Scholarship provided by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Needless to say, although Yogyakarta was the focus and the starting point from where the research took place, it of course intertwined with other places and realities: people and stories also brought me to Central Java (Klaten and Surakarta), the Indonesian capital of Jakarta, as well as to East Java (Malang), Borneo (Banjar) and Sumatra (Palembang).

Upon my arrival in Indonesia on July 1, 2015, the odyssey for the post-arrival research permit procedures started. Once in Jakarta the foreign researcher should report her arrival through an exchange of official letters to the Secretariat of the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (Kemenristekdikti), the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri), and the National Police Headquarters (Mabes Polri). Differently from what I expected, it required three weeks to obtain the research visa. It coincided with Ramadan, a month of fasting observed by Muslims, which implies reduced working hours and Eid al-Fitr holidays (usually called *Idul Fitri* or *Lebaran* in Indonesia) at the end of Ramadan, and then sold out transports to get to Yogyakarta.

The time in Jakarta was spent visiting the Museum Wayang where I met *pak*⁵ Sumardi, one of the coordinators of the museum; and being in contact with *Sena Wangi* and *Pepadi* organizations, both in a building dedicated to the Indonesian

⁵ *Pak* in Indonesian language is the abbreviation of *bapak*, which stands for mister or father. It is the usual way of addressing an older man, so I will use this expression from here onwards for men, except for men of my age, younger men or for those with whom I had more familiarity, who are addressed more appropriately with *mas*.

wayang and located just next to the Indonesian culture miniature park *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (TMII). Pak Sumari, who led the research on *wayang banjar* from South Kalimantan for the UNESCO application and who coordinates the fourteen local schools called *sanggar* dedicated to puppetry, provided me with precious information, contacts and the copy of the “Summary Research Report. Wayang: The Traditional Puppetry and Drama of Indonesia, Candidature File of the Republic of Indonesia for Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in May 2003” edited by Sena Wangi in 2002. In the departments of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemdikbud) I met *ibu*⁶ Roseri Rosdy Putri, Head of Sub Directorate of National and World Cultural Heritage, who put me in contact with ibu Pudentia Purenti, leader of the Team of the Experts on Intangible Cultural Heritage of Indonesia (*Tim Ahli Warisan Budaya Takbenda Indonesia*), a member of the Association of Oral Tradition (*Asosiasi Tradisi Lisan*) and lecturer at the University of Indonesia.

The first meeting with institutions and their representatives involved in Indonesian wayang activities took place. I improvised interviews that often seem more like formal chats, in which I introduced myself as a PhD research student. In the following meetings, this time by appointment, I had the opportunity to prepare them in advance. I could say then that the meetings probably took the shape of semi-directional interviews, characterized by structuring the main topics to be discussed and the questions to be addressed, although I confess I have some difficulties with definitions of such demarcatory lines. Conversations that arise in informal situations in the street or at home were completely different. Most of the conversations, however, was conducted in Indonesian, sometimes in English or in a combination of the two languages; I recorded some conversations with previous consent – the act of recording perhaps made the difference between conversations or during the same conversation, more than the degree of formality or informality and its preparation.

⁶ *Ibu* is the corresponding term of the previous *bapak* to refer to an older woman. It means madam or mother, while *mbak* corresponds to *mas*, for a woman of one’s own age, younger or closer. This is so in central Java.

On July 21, 2015 I managed to reach Yogyakarta by an eight-hour overnight train. Again I had to deliver some official letters to the mayor of the city; the Indonesian Institute of Art (*Institut Seni Indonesia*, abbreviated ISI) of Yogyakarta as representative of the Indonesian counterpart of the research; the Provincial Police Headquarters (Polda); and the Local Immigration Office, in order to get the Limited Stay Permit Card (*Kartu Izin Tinggal Terbatas* KITAS). I had barely arrived but it seemed like everyone I met and talked with wanted to help me with my research, introducing me to other people who were involved in wayang kulit practice to a greater or lesser degree.

Immediately the people I met were shown to be attentive and helpful, which at the beginning was exciting and even reassuring. I was brought to an area of wayang kulit artisans called *pengrajin*, just a few kilometres south of Yogyakarta, next to the Kasongan area where I was then living. Coming from the main road *jalan Bantul*, on the right there is a large arcade with the written words “*Desa Wisata Kasongan*” which translates as “Tourist Village of Kasongan” since it specializes in ceramic handcrafts. For me that was more than a door: soon I had access to part of the wayang kulit world, trying to learn, make and perform wayang kulit.

Learning by doing: performing fieldwork

“Remember, this is a PhD in anthropology, not in art” – my supervisor’s advice still resonates in me. At that time, sitting in the seminar room at the university, although surprised by the direct recommendation to respect the boundaries between the disciplines, I felt prepared to receive it, as in a certain way I was already aware of the institutional codes and pretending to know where those moreover fictitious margins reside. Once in the fieldwork, the inevitable happened: art and anthropology corresponded to each other and were blurred. The unavoidability of this blurring was due to the encounter itself between the student carrying on this research – an aspect which was not irrelevant when considering the reflexive turn in anthropology – and the fieldwork – wayang kulit in Yogyakarta. In various situations, in Indonesia wayang is considered *seni* (art) and its performers *seniman* (artists). For a concatenation of coincidences, or rather synchronicities, I was introduced to a community of artists in Yogyakarta, a community above all dedicated to contemporary arts, from sculpture to

painting, from music to performance, attentive to environmental issues, critical and active on various fronts. It was also a community of artists that catalyzes foreigners (students, travellers and artists especially) with similar views and/or intentions. In the house of the Indonesian artist Noor Ibrahim my path crossed with that of Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll, who pointed out to me the studio of pak Suprih and his assistants.

After the first month of practice in pak Suprih's studio, where I made the puppet of *Semar*, a jester figure dear to the Javanese tradition, I had the privilege of attending a *tatah sungging* (wayang kulit puppets' carving and colouring) practical class, held at pak Sagio's studio, in the same village of Gendeng, Bantul. The classes I was exceptionally allowed to attend were part of the Experts Primary Education Programme by the Community State Academy of Art and Culture (*Akademi Komunitas Negeri Seni Budaya Yogyakarta* AKNSBY). I talk in terms of exception because the programme is targeted to the residents of the Yogyakarta region, to which I did not pertain. Funded by the regional government, it is a joint programme of DIY Government and ISI Yogyakarta, with the purpose of training puppet makers, dancers and gamelan players to be subsequently employed in the region. The programme was in its second edition in 2015-2016.

In order to learn how to perform wayang kulit, I followed the first semester of the theoretical and practical course of puppetry (*pedalangan* from the word *dalang* which stands for puppeteer) at ISI Yogyakarta. After that period, I enrolled in the puppetry evening course at the sultan's palace (*kraton*) traditional school named *sanggar Habirandha*. As the performance involves music, vocal technique, Javanese language and other visual aspects, I also joined the course of basic singing and vocal technique of *macapat* at *sanggar Hadiningrat*, another traditional school of the kraton and I had some private lessons in Javanese language at the house of culture *Rumah Tembi*.

Studying with people and being involved in their activities helped me to reconfigure the fieldwork and/or the research process. My *modus operandi* confirmed to me the great importance and inclination I place on lived experiences: that is the relationships between wayang and the people involved in it. How people bring wayang alive, live with wayang and its (in)famous heritage formation, absorbed me, rather than the "interpretation of cultures" or "theorizing exercises". It can be

said, according to the sociological current of ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967), that I found myself in a place where I could view and experience life from an “inner” perspective, from the experience that subjects have in their interactions and practical activities. Or according to existential anthropology (Jackson 2007; 2013) and/or broadly phenomenological anthropology, I moved to a “radical empiricism and descent into everyday life”.

Central to existential anthropology is the focus on the everyday lived experience of individuals, the inter-subjective horizons of the life-worlds they inhabit, and a sense that there is always more to life than any one theory can account for.

No matter how sophisticated our concepts become, they fail to do justice to what William James called the “plenum of existence” – the full range of human experience, intransitive and transitive, fixed and fluid, rational and emotional, coherent and wild, real and symbolic (Jackson and Piette 2015: 7).

Existential anthropology is interested in those “moments of being”, as Virginia Wolf called them, that escape categorization. At stake in existential anthropology is

“how to at the same time “capture” the significant events in human life without snuffing out the pulse... without sacrificing lived reality in the lifeless embrace with one’s logical concepts” (idem: 123).

The social has “an existential value that is there before any specific social, historical, or discursive formation is in place, and outstrips any intellectual understanding” (idem: 176).

“The ideal methodology – certainly impossible for many reasons – would be a continuous film of the entire life of every person on earth, with his or her own explanation of the captured sequences” (idem: 181).

My initial and somehow ideological urgency was to juxtapose the ethnographic fieldwork knowledge with the narrative of heritage discourses, giving spaces to voices and practices for heritage emancipatory potential to be more sustainable and transformative. Later I started to know and feel wayang kulit personally in a kind of meditative move, getting out of the head to enter the body, in which acceptance of life itself and creativity are implied.

Particularly enlightening during fieldwork was reading Tim Ingold’s *Making* (2013) that helped me handle this personal shift of approach, showing a possible thread to pull for untangling the previously created and amassed skein. Revelatory is what Ingold experienced in his early career, namely that “the only way one can really know things – that is, from the very inside of one’s being – is through a process of self-discovery. To know things you have to grow into them, and let them grow in you,

so that they become a part of who you are” (Ingold 2013: 1). Making is a way of thinking, a correspondence between maker and material, so “knowing is movement” as will be developed in the fifth chapter of this thesis. Making – Ingold argues – is a practice associated with the four disciplines of anthropology, archaeology, art and architecture.

Making and performing wayang kulit as well as observing, sharing and discussing it with people paved the way for a better thinking and understanding at the self-level, not only of wayang kulit. Learning in practice and sharing activities allowed me not only to know wayang kulit from the inside but also to experience and question how wayang kulit knowledge and skills are transmitted. An approach to wayang kulit through direct and full *rasa* involvement, translatable as feeling and enjoyment, is appreciated and encouraged, as the sixth chapter will clarify, and at the same time structural patterns to follow are provided. Learning revealed itself to be personal inner understanding in practice, not any ready-made package of knowledge to acquire. Learning is practice, from inside, entering the body; learning is to move, to wander – err and roam. This way of approaching and doing fieldwork also favoured a tone of improvisation or experimentation, along the fundamentally procedural and creative practice of the research in which multiple elements are combined.

This is what the term *performing fieldwork* which I refer to aims to suggest. In fact, performance is “not ordinary”, performance is “not free and easy”, but rests on codes of communication and behaviour. Performance results from learning, coding, manufacturing, reflexivity, creativity and repetition (*mimesis*). It is a “cooked” activity, *liminal* and procedural with codes and “restored behaviour” – actions made and repeated and maintained – where chance is present in the flow of action, never repetitive (Schechner 1985). The concept of performance also indicates the “acts of transfer” of embodied cultural knowledge and social memories (Connerton 1989).

It is a funny anecdote that I became an aspiring puppeteer, or possibly a singer, in the midst of puppetry students and an artist or artisan in the middle of puppet-maker students, but also a tourist, a curious onlooker, and even a spy. During the encounter and the negotiation that I expected as an anthropology student, I faced the difficulties in fully explaining – or being understood, depending on the angle – the reasons for my presence or rather in my research objectives. It seemed as if on one

side, each of my interlocutors pulled the reasons for me to be there toward his or her nearest conceivable experience and as though, on the other side, I fed these understandings since my actions imitated their own. After some attempts at explaining I was doing anthropology and how it works, I accepted the game, aware of being that and much more. I just let people think what they preferred, according to their experience and expectations. So a kind of chameleon performance happens.

This made me think about what it means to “negotiate” – a term increasingly dear to anthropologists – one’s place in fieldwork or in general within a relationship. Where do you place yourself? is probably not the right question. One’s place is not something given, but is partly relational and partly shaped in it. I was reminded on a daily basis that I was a woman, a *bule* (foreigner) with lighter skin, and going around alone. Things that I didn’t believe were noteworthy before comments and questions on these features constantly directed to me. Attentions of this kind moved between the generous inclination, often offering help and serenity, and sporadically fell into servility or other interests, mainly economic and sexual. For some, what is of value is the alleged economic facility and libertinism a European carries, thus making you feel a kind of bank in motion or a dispenser of sexual pleasure. I remember when coming back home late at night after a wayang kulit performance, this led me to disguise myself by imitating male gestures and attitudes in riding the motorbike: legs and elbows widely open, and an arched back with the neck retracted.

Once for example my motorbike stopped on a road full of curves, and upward and downward slopes that crossed a mountain and a forest. It was already dark. Night falls around 18:30 and you often find yourself dealing with the dark. There was no light except a dim moonlight. I started pushing the scooter up the slope until I heard some voices. I put the kickstand on and, continuing on foot, a lit light bulb of a house under construction entered my range of view. A man and a woman were sitting and chatting in the front, waiting for the family. Soon the man worked to recover the scooter and try to put it back working. After two hours in their pleasant company I could finally return home. On another occasion, I was riding a bicycle when suddenly a guy on his motorcycle approached me pressing his hands on my breasts to then accelerate away. This scene lasted for a few seconds. It was no coincidence that both events occurred in the street. The street always says a lot: it

leads to amplified behaviour, both uncovering by its uncertainty and disguising with its impersonality.

But I diverge. Back to the point – moving, making, fieldworking, performing and reading do shape our being and change the way we look at things. To these practices, drawing is to be added.

Life drawings

Anthropologists in fieldwork do study with people; they interact and search for dialogue. In order to make the individuals I shared and talked with visible (puppeteers, singers and musicians, students, artisans, artists, teachers and professors, political representatives, academics, spectators, *kejawen* followers, experts of ceremonies), I envisioned a project that I called “The Time of a Portrait”. The aim was precisely to draw the portrait of my interlocutors. After some initial frustration, I realized it was not possible to discuss and to draw at the same time, as I wanted. It turned out to be incompatible. Each practice seems to run in its own way, despite both being a kind of engagement, correspondence and sharing. I needed to halt one of the activities to be fully committed. My interlocutor also often paused his or her activity to answer me. This occurrence led to some insight on the process of fieldwork and learning itself.

The landmark book by Betty Edwards (1979) *Drawing on the Right Side of the Brain* came back to my mind. It proceeds from the split-brain research by the neurobiologist Roger W. Sperry, Nobel Prize winner in 1981. According to the study, the human brain has two different ways of thinking: one verbal, analytical and consequential, the other visual, perceptive and global. Two separate spheres that, while working properly, are in reciprocal relation. Through practical suggestions, Edwards argues that connections between the two parts can be stimulated and trained. For example, very meticulous and detailed concentration exercises as well as upside-down drawings unhinge the mind.

Despite some inevitable scepticism about it, art and neuroscience find fertile and growing ground for collaborating and building bridges. Particularly interesting are the experiments conducted for tracing the neural bases of responses to images. The trajectories of eyes are being recorded through new technologies, and seem to be

mostly similar among the people tested. The sensitive and tangible reactions from the observer, rather than the explanation of what art is, is the interest of aesthetic neuroscience. The art historian David Freedberg and the neuroscientist Vittorio Gallese met. In *The power of images* (1989) David Freedberg analyses the relationships between images and people in its historical dimension. The main idea is that human beings have shown recurrent reactions – bodily, psychological, emotional, sexual – to images during the various historical periods. Despite the philosophical study of emotions being based on the idea that the latter were apart from reason, the phenomenology of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1964) and his philosophical interpretation of the “visceral” aspects of our responses pushed Freedberg to take an interest in neuroscience.⁷ Further conviction and influence came from the Portuguese neuroscientist Antonio Damasio who studied emotions, reason and empathy, and their relationship with movement. In *Descartes’ Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain* (1994) Damasio suggests that reason and emotion have a deep relation; the emotion is the perception of the body; body, brain and mental activity are deeply related. Recent discoveries (between the 1980s and 1990s) of the so-called mirror neurons by a team of researchers including Vittorio Gallese, demonstrated that human beings do respond to observed action. Both when performing and when observing an action, the same class of neurons linked to movement is activated. This is at the base of empathy and emotions.

What do these findings tell us? Emotional responses are related to bodily responses (brain and intestines included). To respond to external observations, whether an action or an image, is an active process. Thus, the so far clear separation between interior and exterior fails. In this regard, it also seems important to refer to the study by Michael D. Gershon (1998) *The Second Brain: A Groundbreaking New Understanding of Nervous Disorders of the Stomach and Intestine*. It is the neurobiological affirmation of the close connection and autonomy of brain and intestine. It is really a visceral searchlight. Then, saying that we see only through eyes is an illusion. To observe is an active and creative process, through which the image is recomposed and completed at the body level. This also occurs when

⁷ <https://www.artribune.com/attualita/2014/06/dialoghi-di-estetica-parola-a-david-freedberg/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

movement and image are imagined. Meditation and yoga practices train, among other things, the imagining-doing interrelation. The neuroscientist Stephen Kosslyn and colleagues (2006) revealed that the same part of the brain reacts whether we visually perceive a thing in the world or simply imagine it. I wonder how these images are composed and completed in various cultures, what are the trajectories of the eyes. I think it could be an interesting experiment. For example we know that the more something creates movement (change of rhythm, juxtaposition of complementary colours, full and emptiness, light and shadows) the more the eye is attracted. Is it the same everywhere?

Drawing has all to do with the act of seeing, but not only in one sense. It is involved in the aforementioned interconnections between observation and reaction, motion, emotion and body brains. Existential and phenomenological anthropologists, and again Tim Ingold (2007; 2011b), are helpful in introducing drawing as a practice of being in the world. Drawing implies a real and deep engagement with the surroundings, through a dynamic and creative process. It is even transformational in the way that it changes the way of observing and being in relation with: the way to correspond to the world. You simply learn to look at things differently.

Among the various art forms, drawing occupied various and intermittent roles in the history of anthropological methods. Chris Ballard observed that “despite the continued importance of drawing to anthropologists in the field production of knowledge, it is curiously absent both from anthropology’s self-account of its field practices and from most histories of the discipline” (Ballard 2013: 139). Examples from past anthropological monographs show drawings as tools for thinking and describing sociocultural realities, especially in the form of maps and diagrams (Gell 1999), and drawings that borrow representational tendencies from other disciplines such as botany or archaeology in depicting anatomy and material culture in detail.

As a kind of response to Ballard’s recall, Aina Azevedo (2016) seeks to traverse and recover fragmentary parts of a possible history of drawing in anthropology. The term “ethnographic drawing” – she remarks – from one angle refers to a particular kind of drawing made by the ethnographer in fieldwork, and from another angle brings us back to a remote epoch of anthropology and a vague style, which do not say much (Azevedo 2016: 17). Despite drawing being mostly

subordinated to writing, due to the primacy conferred to words over images, it recently gained a small niche among the anthropologists both as a research method and as a form of knowledge exposure and description. A dual use of drawing in anthropology therefore is often highlighted, both for recording ethnographic data and/or for disseminating anthropological knowledge. Briefly said, drawing has been used as a tool of methodology and/or description, as the examples mentioned from the 21st century show (idem: 22).

Emblematic of the regaining of attention are the ethnographic drawing courses introduced as extra-curricular teaching practices as well as the experimental research group that make use of drawings (Kuschnir 2014). Drawing practice maintains a certain free space, not formalized in terms of style, methodological and expository, probably also due to the lack of its institutionalization in the discipline of anthropology. Philip Cabau (2016) defends this freedom in order to avoid the crystallization of the drawings in “method”. He specifies that the ideal method would be the *non-method*, an intensive practice without fixation, since “the drawing is transitory” and each moment needs the “distrust of habits” (Cabau 2016: 37). Andrea Kantrowitz (2012a; 2012b) analyses drawing from a cognitive perspective, specifically how deliberate indeterminacy allows the drawing to find its own independent voice and take on a life of its own, which promotes discovery in a kind of dialogue between drawer and drawing. This brings me back to the debate introduced at the opening of this chapter about the difference (or lack of such) between ethnography and anthropology, from which participant observation emerged to be the glue or the scapegoat. In a way similar to drawing, I think participant observation could ideally be said to be a non-method, transitory and distrusting habits, and I will return to this point again in the conclusions of the chapter.

In between anthropology and art, drawing reveals the performative aspects of engagement and commitment with fieldwork. As emphasized by anthropologists, who use drawing in fieldwork, “drawing is a verb, a doing, a process, a research methodology; and drawing is a result of research and even a way of presenting it” (Azevedo 2016: 22 *my translation from Portuguese*). Drawing in ethnographic contexts is mainly presented as a graphic solution for observation and description

that needs to be explored further. Drawing can therefore be an instrument of observation and analysis. It can be a learning practice, a way to inquire, study and know. At the same time it is creative and moving, a way of thinking visually. The so-called “life drawing” practice involves movement and stillness, life and death – generating images within living experiences. The passage of time might be evident in drawing, in accordance with the imaginative logic of discovery: the possibility of drawing previous events or one's own imagination (Taussig 2011: 31). Even so-called realistic drawing is not the drawing of reality. Reality offers endless variables other than what the drawing is, a situation selected among possible ones in order to be suggested. Paul Klee skilfully said “art does not reproduce the visible; rather, it makes it visible”. Graphic intelligence is put into action with the ambition to converge forms of knowledge, analytical and experimental, which usually repels each other.

Drawing is a way to reveal yourself and others, connecting the experiences of observation and description (Ingold 2001b). It can communicate intuitively, synthetically and beyond language, while at the same time it can stimulate curiosity, and then interaction, dialogue and participation in a dialogic way. By drawing, the anthropologist reveals and exposes herself and what might be of interest to her, implicitly demanding participation and imagination on the part of the observer. Similarly, drawing facilitates being present, being here and now, in a kind of meditative state.

This said, for the ethnography on Portuguese weaving in Abrantes as the final thesis of my master's degree in visual anthropology (Panfili 2012) I experimented with the use of drawings as storyline. Since then I have continued to participate in the international meetings of Urban Sketchers and *Autori Diari di Viaggio*, acquiring further experience in life drawing on the spot. In Indonesia, I put aside the idea of making portraits, and therefore I often sat cross-legged and sketched what I saw, but not exclusively. Sometimes I noted some commentaries, thoughts or conversations just heard. By drawing I attempted to copy the figures of wayang characters in order to memorize and better understand them, given that there are hundreds of characters. Sketches also accompanied puppetry classes and wayang performances I attended as part of the audience. Corresponding to the proposal of Tim Ingold (2011b) for a “graphic anthropology”, my fieldwork diaries look like sketchbooks,

with drawn-written signs and collages. I found in drawing another way of understanding, moving between on/through/for/with/of: *on* as observation tool; *through* as a cognitive medium; *for* as graphic solutions for expressing and communicating; *with* as dialogic activity; *of* as a case study, at the limit of objectification, some would say.

A question arises: how far can I use drawings in an organized way? Finally I developed the idea of making comics. Before entering into the merits of comics, let's see how the paths of anthropology and art are interlaced.

Art and anthropology interacting through history

The relationship between anthropology and art is old. Early anthropologists, together with private collectors and museums, collected and investigated the artefacts of often small-scale non-Western societies, represented in the Western myth of the *noble savage*. The objects of those far away ethnic groups were referred to as *primitive art*, a controversial term that later was criticized for being based on ethnocentric criteria and therefore replaced by *tribal*, *folk* or *ethnic*, to name just a few examples. This previous remoteness between the scholars and their "object of study" was then shortened at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th by the new anthropologist – now an individual fieldwork researcher – which characterized the modern phase of the discipline. The encounter with the other and its intensity opened up wider methodological and epistemological issues to discuss. Anthropology revealed the plurality of cultures and strove to interpret other societies on their own terms and values, leaving aside making judgments of value. In reference to the analysis of other cultures' forms of art, an ethnographic approach, seeking to relate them to their context of cultural meanings and values, prevailed. In so doing, the same definition's criteria of art were challenged.

During the second half of the 20th century, the *anthropology of art* treated art in its various expressions as a privileged field of study as in a certain way it was embedded within sociocultural relations and related processes of shaping identity, to be observed and interpreted (Gell 1998). It came to be that works of art were mostly treated as finished objects and so analysed in a reverse attribution of meanings and intentions. A similar approach can be found in the fields of *material* and *visual culture*

that mainly focused on the dynamics and interactions that create, use, circulate and confer values to the objects and images (Appadurai 1986). Notwithstanding, the creative, direct, practical and sensuous processes that give rise to art were not contemplated.

In the wake of postmodernity and the “writing culture” critique in the 1980s’ *reflexive* or *critical anthropology*, however, new theoretical frames emerged. The ethnographer’s authority as well the observer’s neutrality were criticized for a new understanding of ethnography: no more a ready-made and neutral knowledge but rather a creative process that is inescapably based on the experiences of the subject, therefore partial, being one perspective among potentially many (Clifford 1988). That is, third-person writing was gradually replaced by first-person. These new theoretical frames were not only auto-reflective, anthropologist-navel-oriented, but in parallel fashion anthropologists redesigned the position and approach with the object of study, if it is still possible to talk of the object of study. The growing and renewed attention paid to the subjective dimension, in engagement with the surroundings, paved the way for a kind of reawakening of senses as reflected in the contemporary *anthropology of emotions*. The relative dimension of the experience highlighted the importance of being aware of the particular space and time in which the experience itself happens. Its dynamicity and in a certain way its elusiveness due to being in constant change are now highlighted. Cultural processes, practices, actions and changes are questioned in the field of the *anthropology of performance* (Schechner 2002) and in the wake of self-criticism the definition of the other itself was questioned. Fieldwork was redesigned to include also the metropolis, urban communities and the researcher him/herself, together with the classical small-scale non-Western societies. New disciplines such as the *anthropology of complexity* and *urban anthropology* arose and what had until now been considered objects and subjects blurred.

To extend it to the various forms of art, a dynamic dialogue between art and anthropology traces new recent directions: new life has been given to the previous dead-objects through the movement of *critical museology*; increased attention is paid to individual artists, processes of elaboration and creativity. That is, notwithstanding the post-*Writing Culture* anthropology (Clifford and Marcus 1986) tending to focus on text for ethnographic field notes and analyses, more recently, anthropologists have

been exploring new forms of research and representation beyond written texts. The so-called *visual anthropology* offers growing examples of the wide possibility of exploring research in visual representations (Banks and Morphy 1997; MacDougall 1998; Grimshaw 2001; Pink 2004). Photography and film so far are of most interest for both examination and production, although growing experiments and theorization overflow in other fields. The use of images, according to the technological possibilities, was initially for illustrative purposes as accompaniment to written ethnography. Only by the reconfiguration of ethnographic strategies did their use become no longer merely auxiliary but a source and questioning tool of research. Clues about the problematization of the visual in anthropology resurfaced and serve as a guide. Notwithstanding, drawing cannot be inscribed directly into it, since it doesn't participate in the process of institutionalization of the field of *visual anthropology* and a lack of histories of drawing in anthropology persists (Azevedo 2016).

Curiously, if on one side a "graphic turn" as in the words of Chris Ballard (2013) occurred among anthropologists, on the other side an "ethnographic turn" invested the contemporary artists who tend to adopt an anthropological gaze and methodology, such as observant participation in the field or appropriation of the archive of the memory (Enwezor 2008). Anthropologists and artists nowadays collaborate and share their practices and ways of discovering more and more (Schneider and Wright 2006; 2010). Most illustrative examples of the blurring of art-anthropology can be found in video and photography such as "Born into brothels: Calcutta's Red Light Kids" (2004), an Indian-American documentary film about the children of prostitutes in Sonagachi, Kolkata's red light district directed by Zana Briski based on the increasingly common technique in visual anthropology to give informants cameras. In this case, the cameras are both recording devices and research tools. Another example is the 2014 online performance called *Excellences & Perfections* by the young Argentinian-born artist Amalia Ulman. Selfies taken for five months on her iPhone and posted on Instagram and Facebook became one of the most original artworks of the digital era, shown in Tate Modern's "Performing for the Camera". It examines the relationship between art performance and photography, and at the same time it could be said to be a fictional ethnography. Another type of collaboration reflects in general on disciplines and fields of knowledge as well as on art as a catalyst

for investment today: the European Organization for Nuclear Research CERN provides artist residencies and research at its laboratory with the conviction that “particle physics and the arts are inextricably linked: both are ways to explore our existence, what it is to be human and our place in the universe. The two fields are natural creative partners for innovation, research and development”.⁸

Crosses are already made between social sciences and various forms of arts with the multiple aim of discovering knowledge, modes of narration and forms of expression. Similar aims can take different directions and declinations in the research process, for a more imaginative and collaborative one. Research and investigation groups are emerging. A niche is dedicated to the use of drawings in ethnography, as exemplified by the University of Toronto Press series named “ethnoGRAPHIC”⁹ and the numerous panels concerning drawing at the international conference “Art, Materiality and Representation” of the Royal Anthropology Institute (RAI), held in London in June 2018.

Anthropographiction

I have said already that my fieldwork diaries looked like more sketchbooks, filled with drawn signs and notes. Drawing certainly played a fundamental role during my research; nevertheless, it requires a longer time, sometimes not available. During my research I also used photography, video and audio recording for interviews, since each medium has its strengths and weaknesses depending on the situations faced. How to combine all these forms, giving them a certain coherence? The researcher captures fragments of reality, which later is framed, ordered and organized, according to the logic, the scientific regime and for the sake of the receiver. Trying to give shape to the interactions in that world, it is clear that it is only partly possible to grasp, understand and express it in a discursive, linear and visual way. The anthropologist then also becomes a storyteller, a kind of scriptwriter or director, and an alchemist of reality, wondering how to show credible characters in a chosen setting.

⁸ <http://arts.cern/home>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

⁹ https://utorontopress.com/ca/books/by-series/ethnographic?dir=asc&order=sort_title, last accessed May 31, 2020.

Comics allow non-linear graphic narratives. The juxtaposition of words and images in space aims to give the idea of movement, of time and duration. Space and time are played one in favour of the other, in a close relationship, in order to create a story, and also to suggest sound, movement, rhythm and emotion. Comics offer the possibility of playing with the fragmentation of experience and building a narrative, juxtaposing those same fragments that previously had different forms. The result is a reworking of fieldwork images, voices, texts and sounds in a fictional narrative or creative imagination for portraying human realities observed and experienced by the anthropologist, unavoidably part of it. Something similar occurred through *ethnofiction* (of which Jean Rouch is considered the father) in visual anthropology or *creative non-fiction* in ethnographic writing (Perl and Schwartz 2006; Gullion 2016). Moreover, a particular genre of children's literature qualified as *realistic fiction* embarks young readers on the construction of imaginary worlds which would proceed by "fictional immersion" to initiate a "modeling of reality" (Bruguière and Triquet 2012). Based on "graphic anthropology" proposed by Tim Ingold and blended with "fiction", the neologism *anthropographiction*, which gives the title to this paragraph, aims to highlight experimentation and graphics in anthropology. From both narrative and graphic strategies the stories are in between imagination of and inspiration by reality, intertwining scientific knowledge, narrative and fiction.

In comics I found not only the already flaunted integration and co-dependence of image and text, but also the inter-penetration of body movements and embodied space, as well as the representation of more vivid voices. Through "sighting", which embodies language and space, the participants engage and find themselves located (Duranti 1992). Access to the real has become predominantly visual: new generations think in images due to their dominant presence in our daily life (Cabau 2016), but actually broader sensory perceptions or channels might be favoured. Visual, auditory or kinaesthetic perceptions, as well binary logical deductions and reasoning vary from one person to another: we use them all, but in a different way and with some dominating the others. These affect the way we understand the world, confer importance on different aspects and

communicate differently. In comics, various grammars (from literature, science, painting, cinema, theatre or animation) are in relation and converge.

In the attempt to bring comics closer to anthropology, Alex Pavlotsky¹⁰ finds in them a combination of history, analysis, reporting and a strong sense of empathy, of place and the human encounter. At the same time, Alex Pavlotsky remembers that some people feel lost in front of the images. The multi-language and multi-level communication of comics can, however, mediate it since comics do not only rely on the visual, but more perceptive senses are called into play. This hybridization and the multiple modalities of language comes near to the human experience of reality in a kind of synaesthesia and hope to return to immediacy, freedom of reading and malleability of perception. This is a reason for comics being such a popular rhetorical and even political tool. The graphic solutions, the idioms of the action, the degrees of abstraction and the ways of seeing can be drawn and combined in various ways. Comics can be said to be fragmented, illusory or even allusory. This allows the author to carefully choose the graphic filters to be used, while being enrolled in a reflective dialogue.

A game of connivance or a tacit agreement unites the author with the reader. Shared experience, socio-cultural references and recognition of codes are conditions of comprehensibility and also open to a plurality of readings and meanings. Comics build a world that returns to exist in the mental and bodily experience of the reader, at the same time with a proximity to the human experience of reality. Comics require the cooperative understanding and cognitive involvement of the reader in the story: the comic works when the experiences come into relation with the world that the eyes see. While reading a comic book, a series of cognitive operations are performed: recognition is the ability to link between representations and reality, between forms and meaning; interrelation is the ability to put every element of the page in relation to the others within different frames of sense; identification is participation in the story and involvement in the world of the comics; completion is the ability to fill in a series of voids, of which the white spaces between one vignette and the other are the only visible ones. Through references to similarity, it is possible

¹⁰ <https://alexpavlotski.wordpress.com/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

to recognize the characters, the objects and the environment, the situations and the meanings that are only partially shown. Through comparison and the identification of differences, it is possible to recognize that something happened, changed. The sense of time and duration is then given by temporal continuity and discontinuity. Charles Hatfield characterizes comics as 'an art of tensions' since "we continue to distinguish between the function of words and the function of images, despite the fact that comics continually work to destabilize this very distinction. The tension between codes is fundamental to the art form" (Hatfield 2009: 133).

In Anglophone studies nowadays, it is common to distinguish between comics, mainly serial stories of a character or superhero, and graphic novels. A graphic novel is a book made up of comics content and the term is applied broadly to include fiction, non-fiction, and anthologized work. Considering that in other languages this distinction may not work, despite the fact that the graphic novel is becoming increasingly popular, I use the word comics (graphic novels to be considered included) for clear reasons of conciseness. Comics can be defined as a combination of text and images, a sequence of images or a form of storytelling. To define comics unequivocally, given the 21st century growing experimentation and hybridization of forms, has no solution without doing injustice to numerous particular cases. Thus, for the sake of the discourse too, it is more useful to investigate how comics and the human sciences meet, anthropology in particular.

Comics are increasingly the target of scholars' attention in the human sciences. This attention can be registered in a more general one: William John Thomas Mitchell (1995) used the term "pictorial turn" for the growing interest in visual articulation in academia. Comic studies too have burst onto the academic scene. Its foundations are traced back to the American cartoonist Will Eisner's analyses of the medium of comics. His *Comics and Sequential Art* ([1985] 1990) became mandatory reading, to be followed by *Graphic Storytelling and Visual Narrative* (1996). Further analyses of what was described as "sequential art" were carried out by Scott McCloud (1993; 2000; 2006), also an American comics artist, who defines this art as "juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or to produce an aesthetic response in the viewer" (McCloud 1993). In Europe, comics studies can be found in the work

of Roland Barthes such as the essay “Rhetoric of the Image” (1964) and Umberto Eco’s *Apocalittici e integrati* (1964).

More recently, a special issue of the scientific magazine *Le Debat* (2017) was dedicated to the “phenomenon of consecration of the ninth art”: *la bande dessinée* (French for comics). Vincent Marie (2017) and Lucie Servin (2017) exemplify the uses of comics in the teaching of history and in the transmission of memory. *Maus*, the serialized graphic novel by American cartoonist Art Spiegelman (1980-1991) about the holocaust, is a well-known pillar of it. Cecile Gonçalves (2017) argues for a broader use as support for reflection and David Vandermeulen (2017) defends the idea that comics could be a didactic medium too. Examples of works placed in comics and the common area of social sciences can be Joe Sacco’s reports from Palestine and the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Guy Delisle’s travelogues, and Marjane Satrapi’s migrant stories. The honest and accurate languages used for communicating human experiences and representing concepts can easily be considered ethnographic.

Comics are being used in health studies, journalism and education, to cite some fields of study. The comics research group named ACME¹¹ and based at the University of Liège (Belgium), for example, gathers scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds to explore it from various critical approaches, including history of art, sociology, aesthetics and philosophy, linguistics, literature and cognitive studies. Serge Tisseron (2009) defends that the idea of writing an academic thesis in comics is not only possible, but rather necessary. The doctoral dissertation on visual thinking, published with the title *Unflattening* (2015) by Nick Sousanis, is entirely made in comics. In a kind of visual-verbal dance across the page, the dynamic elements become allusions, allegories, and motifs, of realism and abstraction, based on the awareness that the eyes meet more than what is presented on the page. Through the collage-like capacity of comics, Nick Sousanis chose to show that perception and thinking is always an active process of embodiment, which often makes us unable to see past the boundaries of our current frame of mind. That is, *Unflattening* defies conventional forms of narrow, rigid

¹¹ The name of the group explicitly refers to Chris Ware’s innovative project *Acme Novelty Library* <http://www.acme.ulg.ac.be/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

thinking and discourse that Sousanis calls “flatness” in clear reference to the two-dimensional inhabitants of Edwin Abbott’s *Flatland* (1884).

In the anthropological field, comics deserve to be explored, and thereby some have actually produced ethnographic accounts in comics form (see Newman 1998; Castillo Debal and Wagner 2012). The Centre for Imaginative Ethnography¹² focuses on and encourages experimental and emergent ethnographic methodologies that fuse creative arts, digital media and sensory ethnography as exemplified in *A different kind of ethnography: imaginative practices and creative methodologies* (Elliott and Culhane 2017) with the five contributions on writing, sensing, recording and editing, walking and performing. Among its members, Dimitrios Theodossopoulos experiments with graphic ethnography via drawing, cartoon-caricatures, digital media, and photography (Theodossopoulos 2016a; 2016b). Meanwhile, ethnographic research at the University of Oslo makes use of comics to examine and communicate problems related to public space and the formation of a singular and collective identity within the campus itself.¹³ The Africa Comics project¹⁴ aims at the development and promotion of the comic book as a vehicle for ideas and a tool for sharing various local realities.

The last but not least important reason for using comics in this research is the association between wayang and comics – both considered a kind of *cergam* (from *cerita gambar* meaning picture tales) – due to the caricatured characters and the storytelling techniques. The Indonesian illustrator R. A. Kosasih realized a series of comic books based on the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics (Sears 1996: 274-286), while Johnny Hidajat created the character of *Djon Domino* on the base of the Javanese wayang character of *Petruk* (Anderson 1990: 168). In addition to that, Indonesia has an interesting history of local comics (Bonneff 1976; Lent 2014, 2015).

For the uselessness and purposelessness of the research

At the beginning of this chapter I posed the question of the necessity for methods. In fieldwork, for anthropology, participant observation is the key, the cyclical and

¹² <http://imaginativeethnography.org/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

¹³ <https://anthrocomics.wordpress.com/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

¹⁴ <http://www.africacomics.net/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

performative process itself giving fecundity to knowledge, understanding and experience. Introducing drawing, the argument was enriched by the possibility, if not the necessity, of a non-method method for the research. The transience of the practice calls for the need of discomfort and “distrust of habits”. The game of balance lies in acquiring mastery through an intensive practice and at the same time in allowing indeterminacy in order to encourage discovery and dialogue. By suggesting the uselessness and purposelessness of the research I want to highlight the importance of following the paths of discovery regardless of where they lead. What I mean became clear in the words of Vimala Thakar, explicitly: “the urgency to find, to discover, to learn, not for some extraneous purpose, but as an end in itself; discover what the meaning of life is for the sake of it, for its intrinsic joy”.¹⁵ Sometimes new issues are the destination, since what you find is not what you are looking for. In this way the research can be inspirational and transformative, as well as risky.

Risks are to yield to the satisfaction of the fascination for the experience itself, whether as scholar, traveller or artist. The anthropologist must worry and should have been trained to recognize and discern attitudes imbued with what the scholars call orientalism, which is attributing exotic, stereotyped or habitual categories. Due to laziness or lack of effort, the choice even implies unconscious risks falling into the known path of habit. Instead of satisfying the expectation, only by preserving the feeling of (re)search and careful observation can we be amazed or inspired. The same risks of distractions, making experience the central subject, can occur in drawing and comics. The search for beauty is not what is sought for in ethnographic drawing. Excessive graphic acrobatics or search for beauty on paper may become a trap to the anthropologist: drawings might tend to become the object of attention, distracting and restricting the experimental capacity that drawing has. The sketcher is in the position to characterize without making it caricatured or beautiful. For both the anthropologist and the visual artist, the assumption is a profound spirit of observation, which seeks to get rid of prejudices and what is taken for granted.

¹⁵ cited in Romano 1999: 144.

The challenge is to take the stories, even simple ones, and give them a new life: telling and creating stories, giving new shapes to reality and imagining new human and relational horizons. Stories can educate, inspire life and entertain. According to Francesco Remotti (2014), the relative strangeness of anthropologists can offer a gaze which is a bit special, and yet precious, formed by continuing to study different cultures. He argues that many themes, critical cues, and forms of wisdom could come from the *inattuale* (translatable into untypical or non-actual) societies, whose memory anthropologists have the task of preserving and revitalizing. Inevitably, and I would say thankfully, the results do not coincide with the motivations; otherwise there would be no mistakes as disorienting as the flame of moving forward. Discomfort for loneliness, sometimes desperation, often disorientation, as experienced by anthropologist, open up the possibility and necessity of plural and alternative directions of the research. In fact, what actually stimulates moving forward are not rational reasons or reflections. They serve to clarify ideas, to find errors, illuminate connections, refine feelings and perceptions, but what really leads is prey to fragility and its own grammar. Paths taken are often dictated by feelings and perceptions. Do we know what we don't know? The knowledge is there but is still tacit. It is the ability to understand before seeing in a kind of game between intuition and intellect at the heart of the research. Every research results first of all in ways of thinking, even before ways of searching or methods.

In this case the fieldwork was carried in over two years, exactly between July 2015 and June 2017. It proceeded along some main paths such as: learning by doing, both making and performing wayang kulit; observing, that is attending performances and festivals; sharing everyday activities and thoughts; encountering and interviewing people differently related to the wayang world; searching for bibliographical sources such as local publications, newspapers and magazines. Three main directions or issues can be pointed out and they should be considered as interrelated: the various steps of making wayang kulit (from the raw leather necessary for producing it to the performance that gives 'life' to wayang kulit); the various ways of transmitting knowledge of wayang kulit; wayang moving between tradition and contemporaneity, rituality and marketing, object and living culture,

rehabilitation and entertainment. Wayang kulit shows up in the process of puppet making; as collections, performing arts and intangible heritage; as a medium of education, art, communication and therapy; as a myth that defines places, in order to understand how people engage with society, between the future and the past, in the continuous process of life.

Intertwined with all these wayang issues are other experiences such as fasting, sitting on the ground, living in the countryside, meditating, sleeping in a ramshackle way, eating little and rarely in a varied way. I cannot say where an experience ends and another begins; each is part of the other. It is necessary to bring thought and practice on a par, paving the way for body, heart and mind to unify, towards vertical and horizontal communication. This is, among many other things, what I get from this fieldwork experience, something I was told by a dalang on my arrival, but that I had not caught. Actually it is not even something that one can grasp, but one works constantly. I found that Laura Romano's words resonated: "the particular and the different did not interest me anymore as such, but only as instruments to get to something wider" (Romano 1999: 145) – and I could add at the same time to get to something closer.

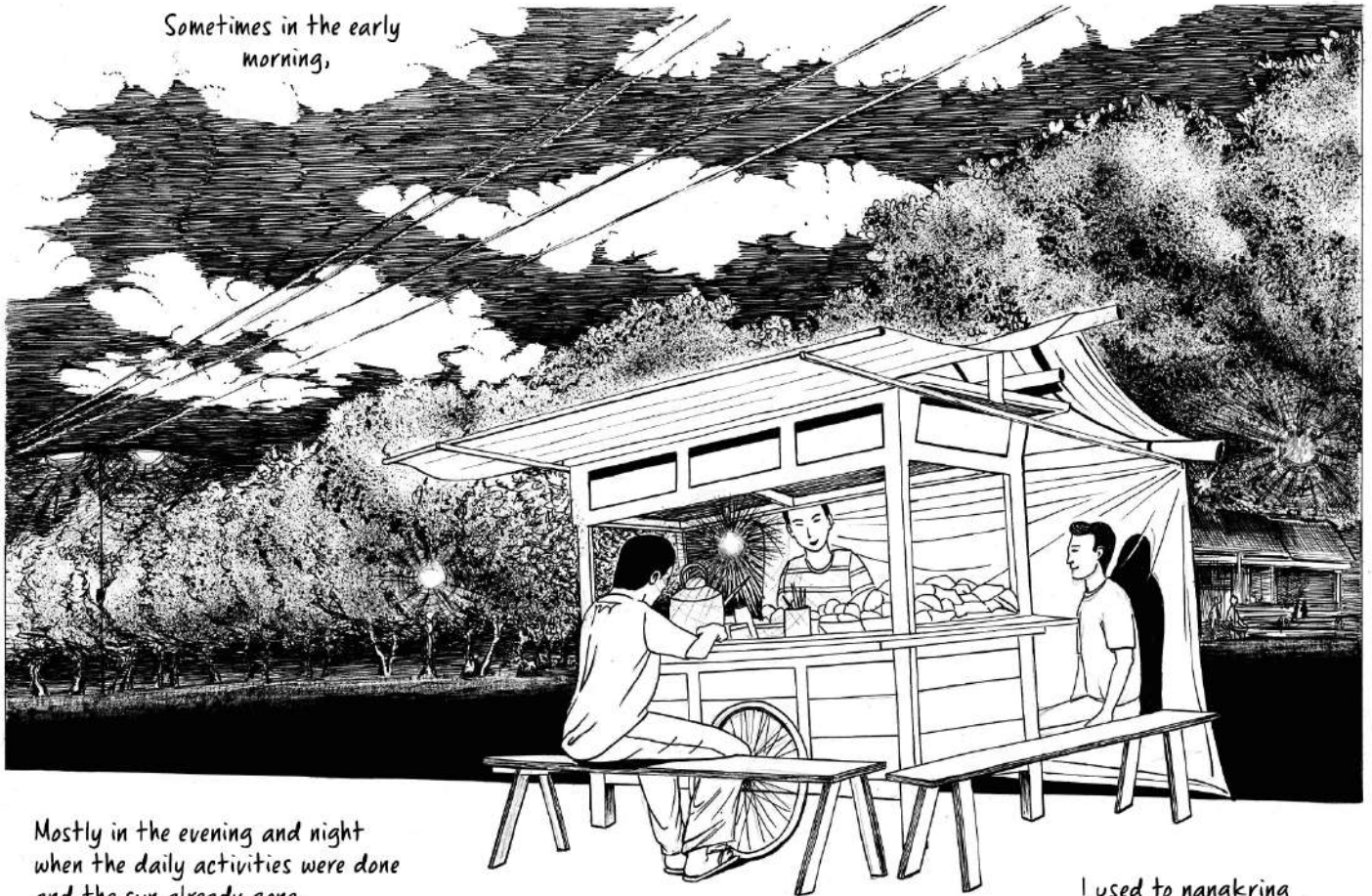
This chapter dedicated to research reflections cannot be completed without considering my departure from the fieldwork. I left with even less certainty to cling to, my head completely under. Two years of feeling part of a way of life in this world and partly dissolved in the enigmatic impression that enveloped it, gaining awareness of the political and social wefts, not at all ingenuous or casual. When leaving Indonesia I had to face a similar thing, but with new eyes that I did not yet know how to see with. The experiences we have might be similar, but their function and meaning can be transformed. I found the knowledge meaningful concerning wayang and through it new modalities of being in the world that paved the way for a wider reflection on life.

I clashed with the much-vaunted spirituality, for which at the beginning I nurtured a certain distrust mainly due to uses that, consciously or not, are for various purposes. Through wayang I understood that spirituality is to try and try again, with commitment, and that to embark on a spiritual path is intended to harmonize mind, heart and body, not something separate from the experience of everyday life. It is an

overall orientation of life and relationship to join the rest of the world, in which meditating is a tool and a practice among many others. It is a path as beautiful as it is difficult that implies respecting the place inhabited, being grateful, approaching someone or something only with the intent to leave it happier or better. In freedom it is possible to choose how to act and then collect the fruits of the seeds sown. Since human beings are not the centre, not above or apart from Nature but rather part of it, then human beings must harmonize with the laws of Nature. These words are some of the warnings that the dalang may say through the wayang character of Semar, often summarized in the sentence *eling lan waspada*, keep in mind and stay alert.

Right at the beginning of my journey, in the hostel, I met an employee of the Ministry of Agriculture in Manado, Sulawesi. He told me: “Indonesians, unlike the Japanese for example, do not record experiences analytically”. He continued explaining the point through an example from his profession “Indonesians know they must not sow in June, but why? They don’t know. If you sow in June anyway, the result is very bad. Indonesians know what have to do, but not why. A theory based on experience is not developed”. The task of developing theories probably concerns anthropologists too, but the real challenge is to stay open to listening and learning, remembering that theories are linked to practices, and vice versa.

Sometimes in the early morning,



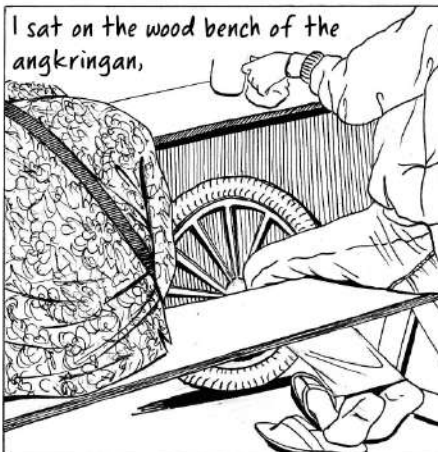
Mostly in the evening and night when the daily activities were done and the sun already gone,

I used to nangkring

ordering a ginger hot tea without sugar



I sat on the wood bench of the angkringan,



a simple street cart with plastic tarp as a tent



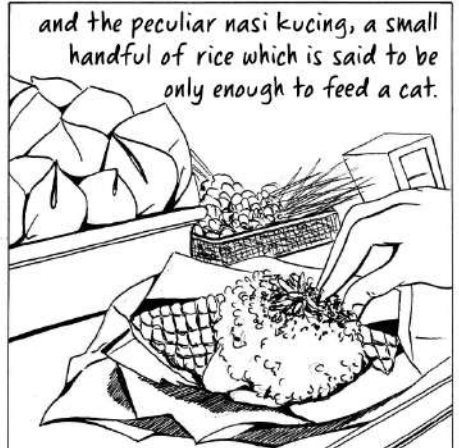
serving different kinds of skewers,



beverages

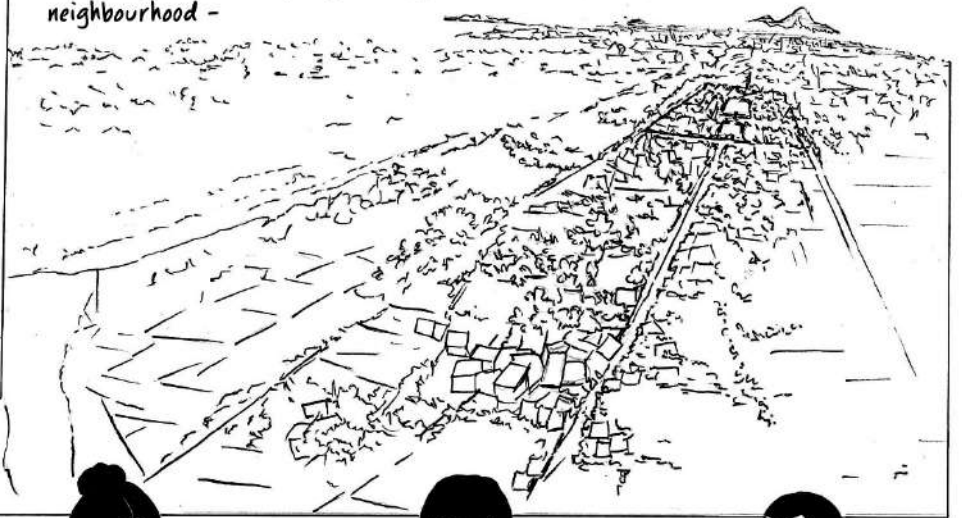


and the peculiar nasi kucing, a small handful of rice which is said to be only enough to feed a cat.



Drinking with some snacks, whether alone or with friends,

in the city or in a kampung - village, neighbourhood -



conversations often involved all those present

and my presence soon or later led to the question:



* where are you from?

the usual question concerning provenance that I welcome as a first step towards the other,



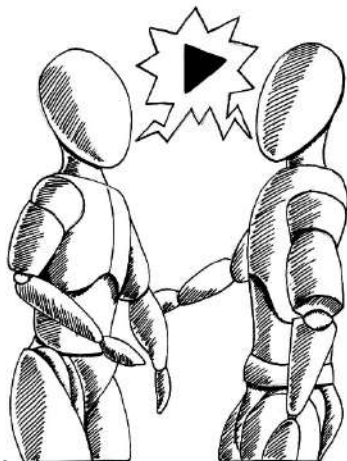
and an opportunity for an ethnographic encounter.

Until it becomes easily unnerving when this gets directed at you several times a day, every time you step out of the house and you go around, for two years.



* bule means lighter skin

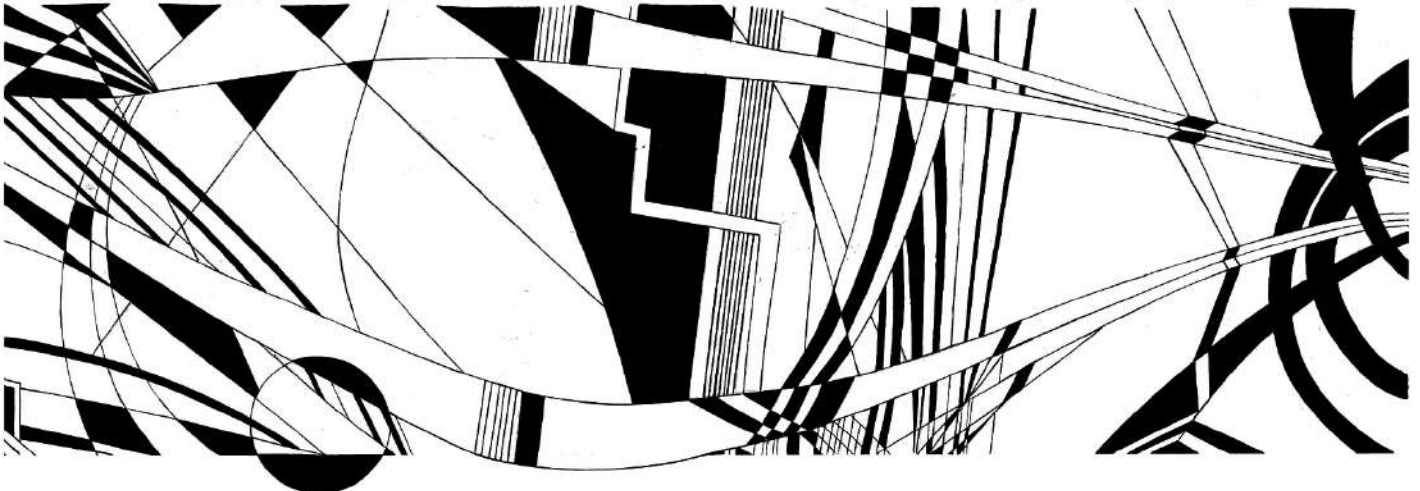
Anyway, once curiosity is sedated, it proves to be exactly a way to pass to a pleasant further conversation, without skipping the customary interrogation:

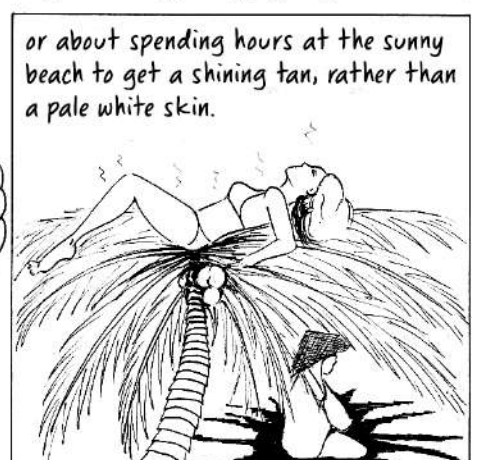
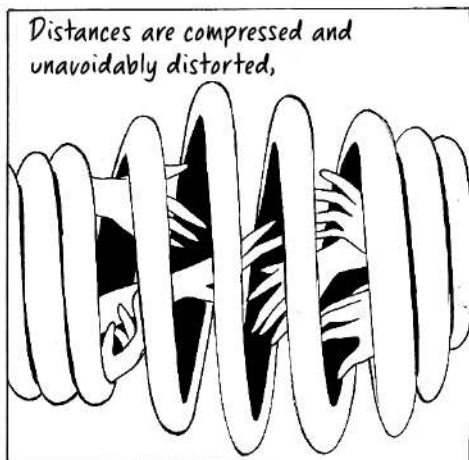
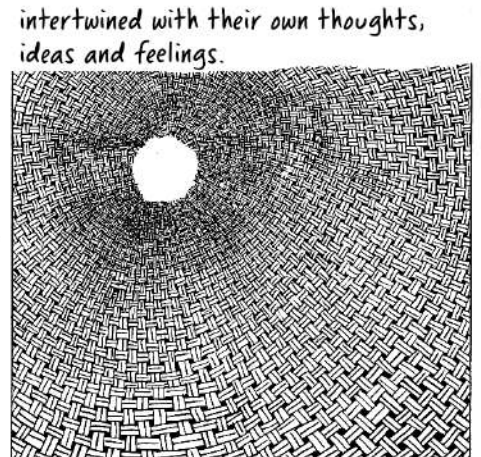
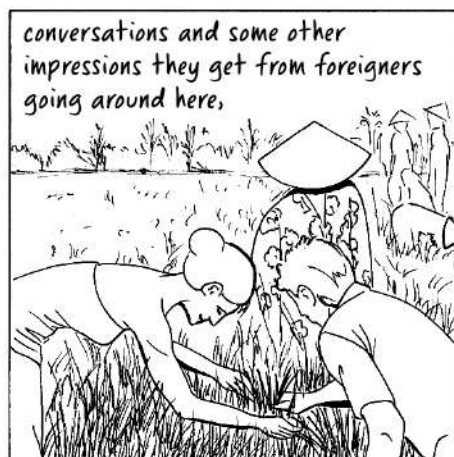
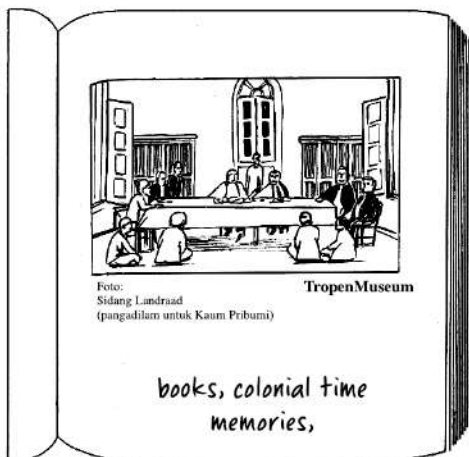
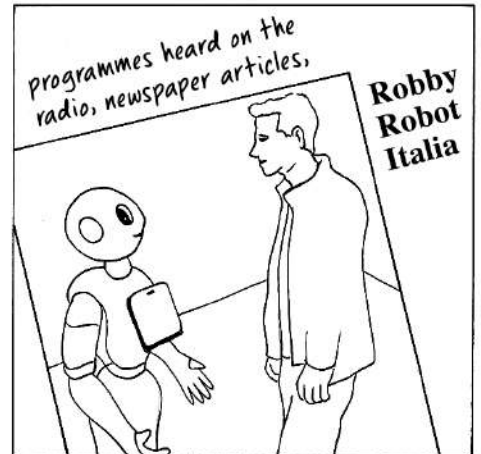
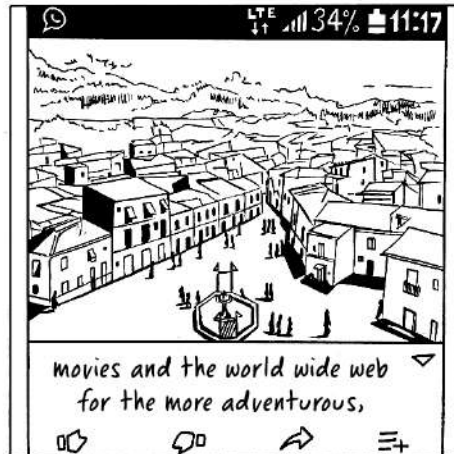


I have to reveal that several times I wanted to record my answer and play it automatically, because also automatic, the questions and most surprisingly the reactions of my interlocutors seemed to me:

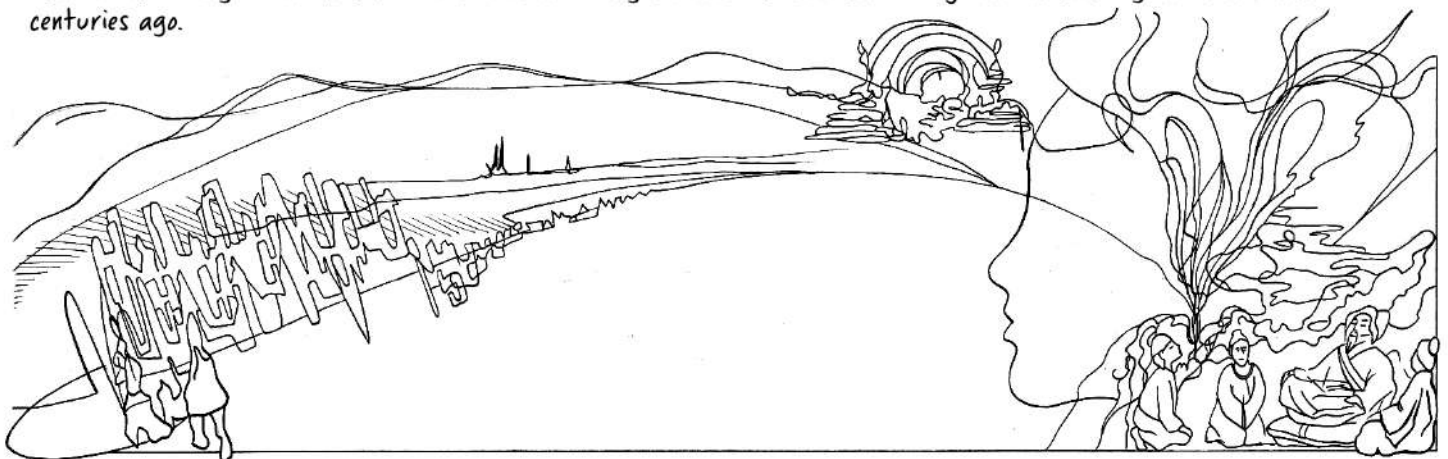


Without ever being physically there, somehow my interlocutors visualize that place called Italy and the people living there.





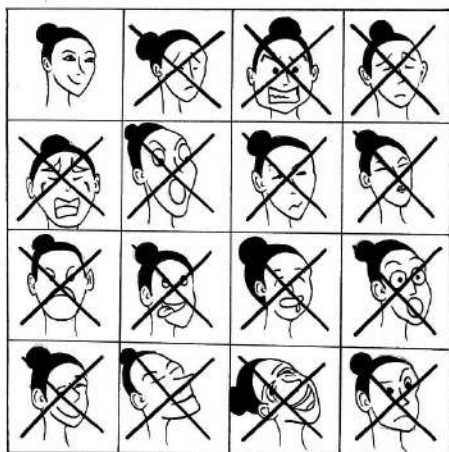
I cannot even imagine how fanciful the stories and images were which were carried by traders crossing lands and seas centuries ago.



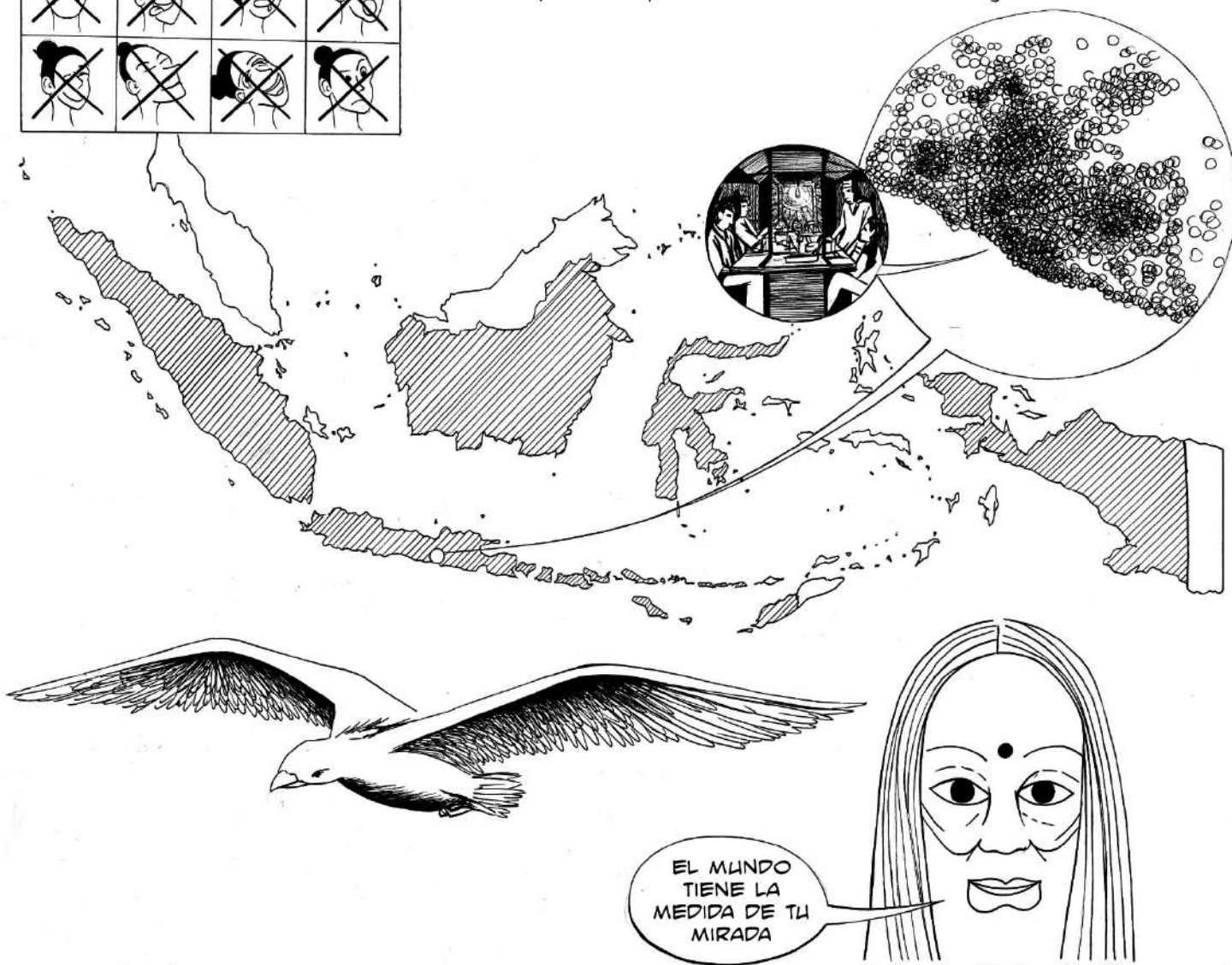
The same question arises for me:



Somehow I conceive this place, its culture, the people, and I try to behave in accordance with it, at an angkringan for example, in order to be a harmonious part or not a discordant note at least.



Indonesia is such an extensive country, consisting of thousands of islands, hundreds of spoken languages and myriad ways of inhabiting that it is hard to focus the image of this huge collectivity named "Indonesia". Java is the most populous island of Indonesia, hosting more than half of its total population, the core of political, economic and cultural power, one of the main destinations for education, tourism and culture, where people come and go, and many decide to stay. Thinking twice, in the simple and familiar atmosphere that characterizes these little clippings of space and time, scattered throughout Yogyakarta and central Java, the question of provenance has all its reason for being.



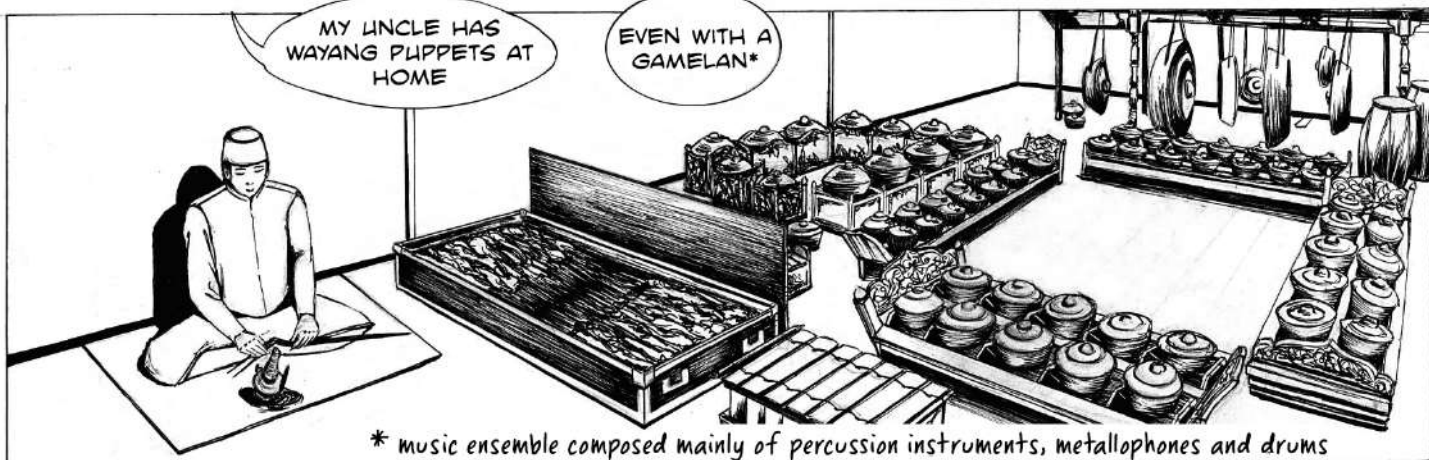
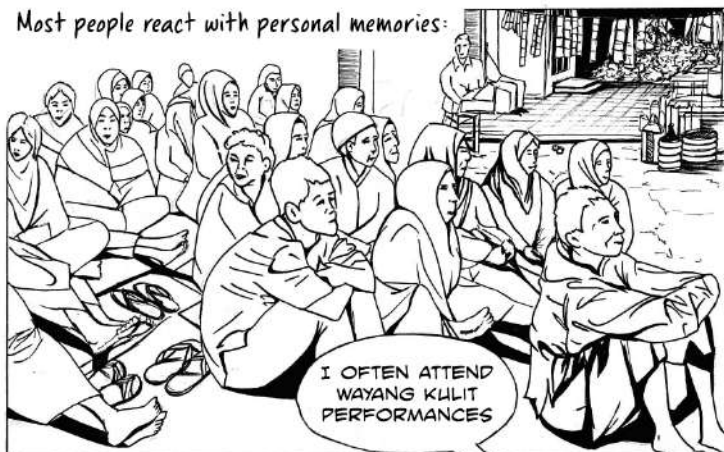
Back down on the angkringan bench, socializing between sips of tea and snack,



another moment of greater enthusiasm is what brings me to Yogyakarta:



Most people react with personal memories:



EVEN WITH A GAMELAN*

* music ensemble composed mainly of percussion instruments, metallophones and drums



* spiritual cleansing ceremony

In Java especially, wayang is pervasive, part of people's life, memories, places and stories:

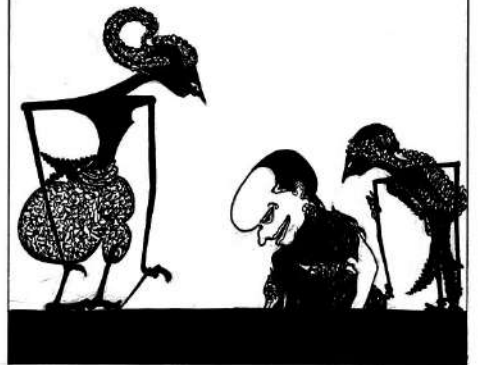


1 Po-té-hi:
the Chinese glove puppet theatre
in East Java
VICTORIA M. CLARA VAN GROENENDAEL

When we speak of the puppet theatre of Indonesia we usually have the Javanese wayang theatre in mind. The leather puppets of the wayang kulit or the three-dimensional puppets of the wayang golék are more than well known. We often see them depicted, on all sorts of objects, as a kind of trademark of Indonesia.

(in Arps 1993: 11)

Among the many wayang forms, wayang kulit is one of the most widespread.



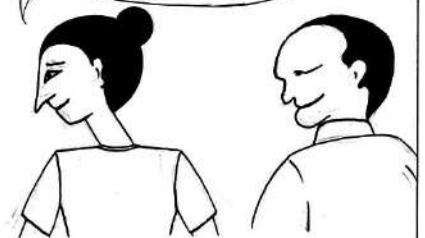
It is due to its being a kind of storytelling involving many forms of expressions that I could first appreciate it, even without understanding the verbal narrative part.



WHAT CAN YOU GET IF YOU DON'T KNOW THE JAVANESE LANGUAGE?

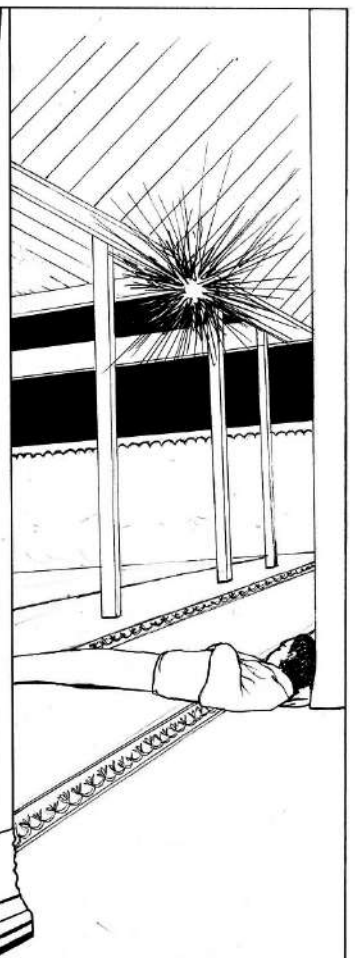


I OFTEN ASK INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHARACTERS AND THE STORIES, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE ONE AT MY SIDE



A wayang performance is also an occasion to socialize.

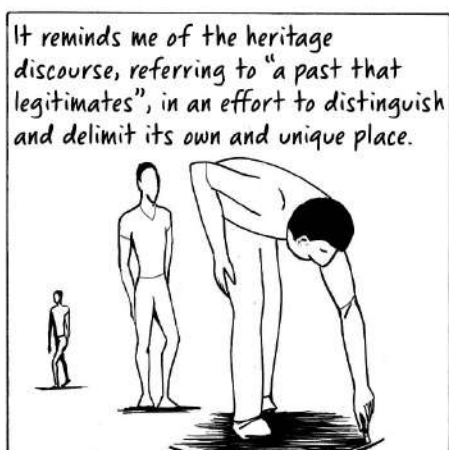
It was exactly the all-night convivial atmosphere, the visual and aesthetic dimension of the moving shadows, the music of the gamelan vibrating space, the mystery of the unknown and also the snacks distributed among the audience that years ago sparked my curiosity for wayang kulit.



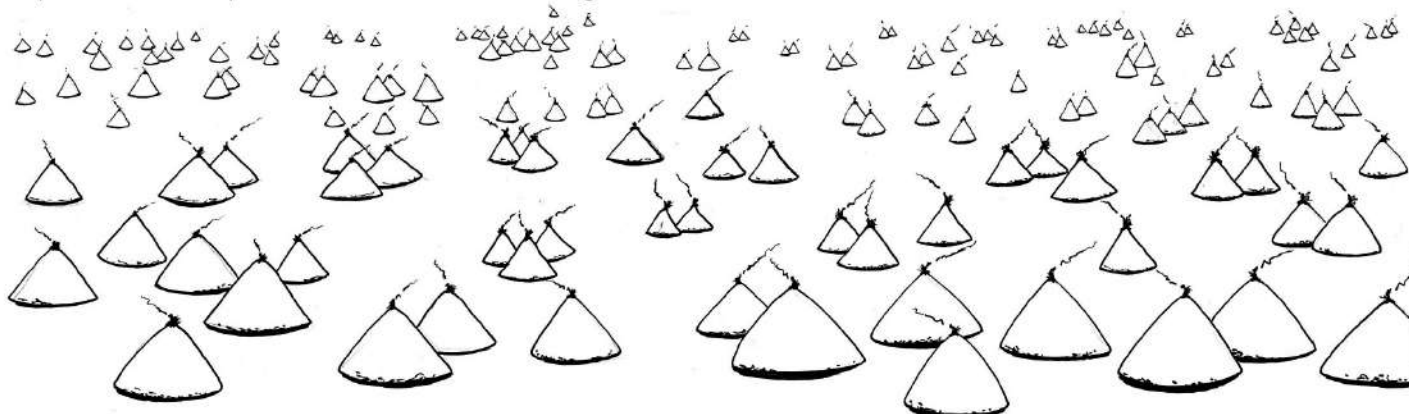
Some conversations at angkringan go further, capturing my attention:



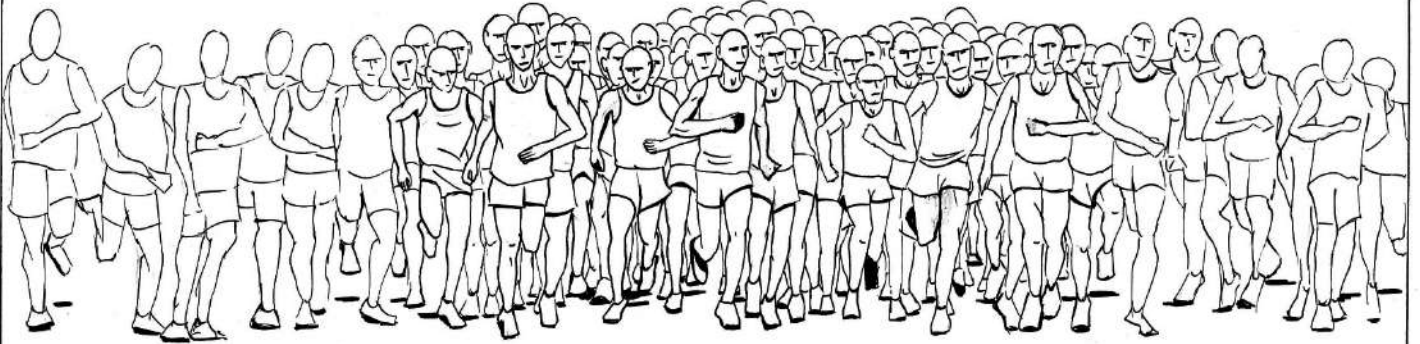
PUNAKAWAN ARE THE ATTENDANTS OF PRINCES AND OTHER MAIN CHARACTERS. SEMAR AND HIS THREE SONS APPEAR IN COMICAL INTERLUDES CALLED GORO-GORO OF WAYANG PERFORMANCE



Recycled through various familiar and accepted media, most recently internationally through UNESCO, it turns into an everyday speech, a habitual performance and a believable image.



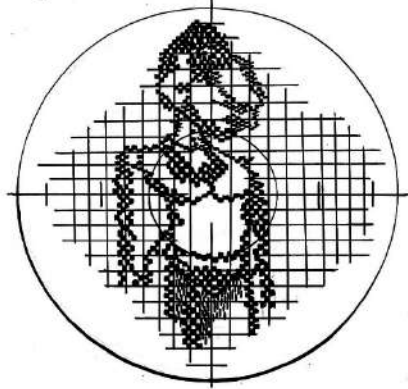
In the potentially infinite competition for international recognition,



UNESCO awarded wayang as a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.



The process involves selection of the image of culture and its diffusion,



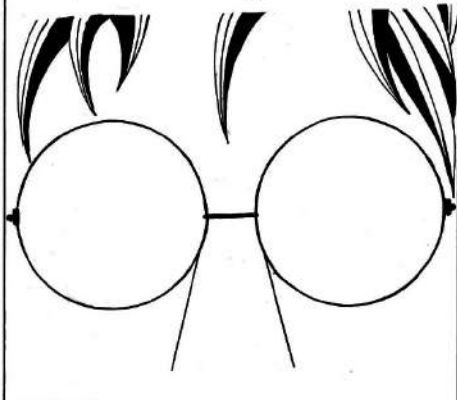
in which "culture makes an exposition of itself" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 168).



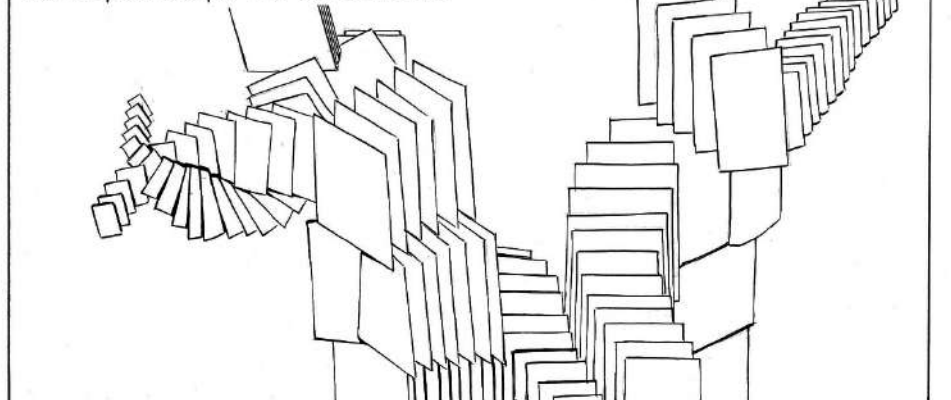
It shapes images and frames of a humanity which is globally changing and at the same time trying to resist those same changes,



influencing the ways we perceive, interact with and imagine all the people.



Imaging or representing culture is both an individual and collective, physical and mental practice, part of culture itself.



To give an example: Karen Strassler argues that personal and intimate photographs profoundly shaped how people imagine Indonesian nationality and their own subjectivity within it. Referring to the period of transition that follows the fall of president Suharto and his New Order regime, according to her, photography became a medium of people's participation "in the envisioning of the nation" (Strassler 2010: 4).



Borrowing Bakhtin's metaphor of "refraction", she clarifies how photographs considered as "popular" practices "distort, fragment, and transform widely shared representational forms and visions, and their attendant ideologies and narratives" (Strassler 2010: 23).



Physically and mentally, images are continuously in interaction, leaving traces for transmission.



Once again at the angkringan, I get confused:

DO YOU HAVE
WAYANG IN
ITALY?

HOW TO
REPLY?

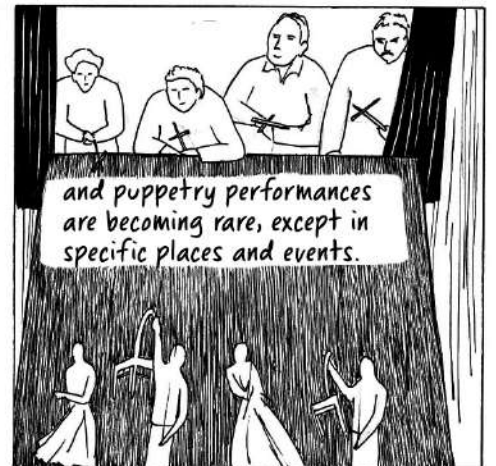


Certainly there are puppets in Italy;



Italian puppetry
is both of string
and glove puppets;

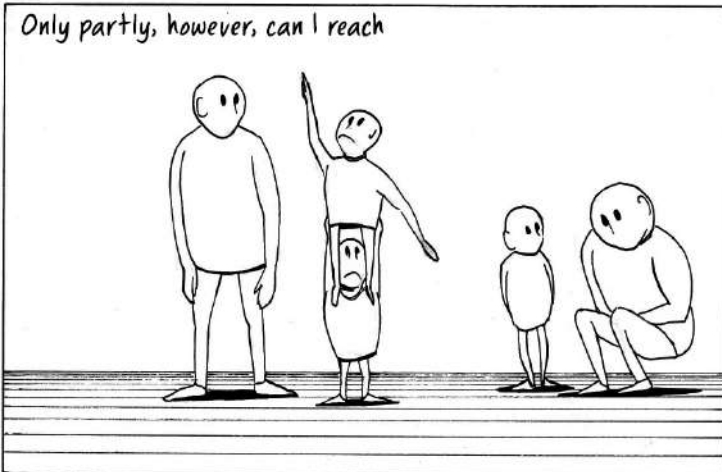
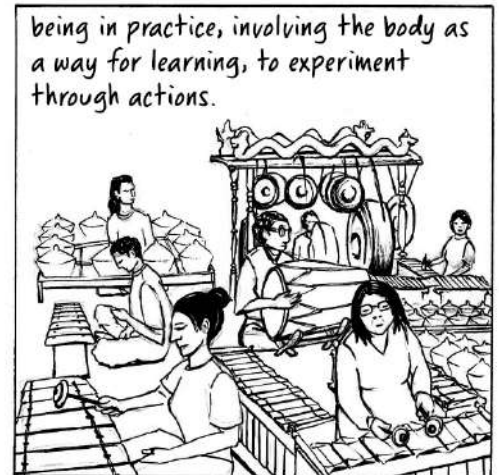
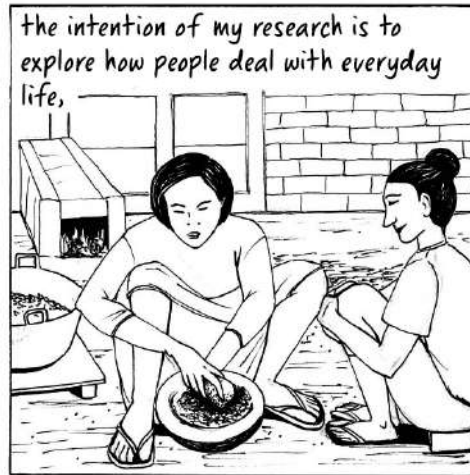
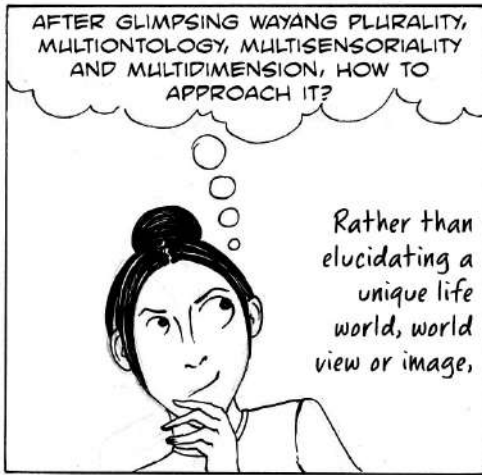
there are also Indonesian wayang
puppets in a few museums;



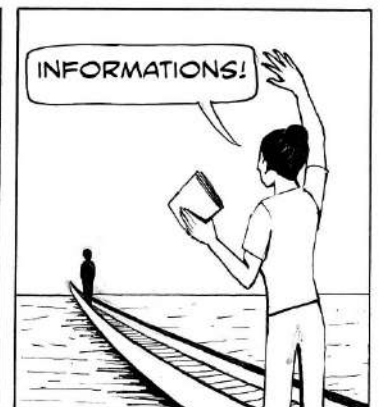
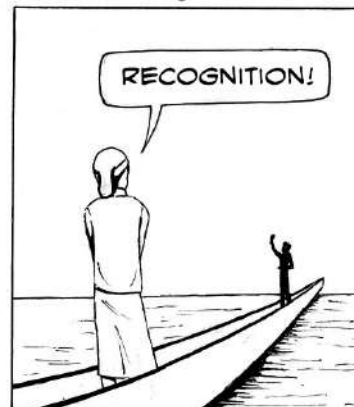
and puppetry performances
are becoming rare, except in
specific places and events.

Considering the polysemy of the subject, as many scholars have already largely stressed, actually the Indo-Malay word wayang may refer to a "puppet", a "character" and a "performance", as well as being applied to various kinds of theatrical forms.

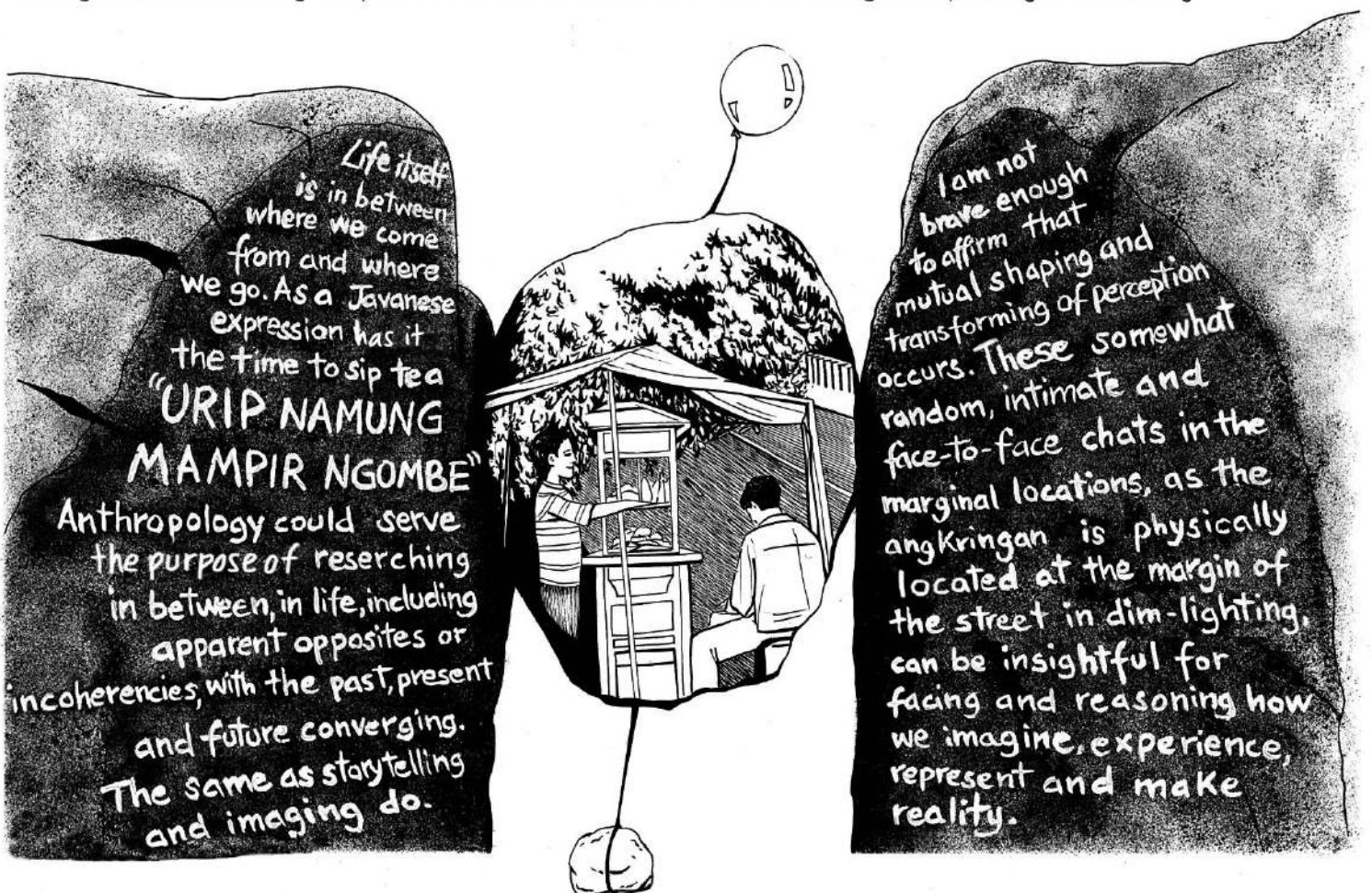




and understand the other point of view, and express it in a discursive way.



The continuous ever-changing reality-experience-agency-expression interaction calls for an art of being a go-between, of moving in-between, drawing unexpected results (De Certeau 1984: 30), with a degree of plurality and creativity.



2.

Wayang Puppet Theatre of Indonesia?

From “Outstanding” to “Representative” ICH of Humanity.

“The person watching the wayang is captivated and sad, though he knows that what is watching is merely painted leather, given form by a human being, able to act and speak, the person watching is like a man greedy after enjoyable material possessions, thus his heart is trapped, he does not know that actually the visible shadow is like a mere fantasy or magical trick”
(Empu Kanwa, *Arjunawiwaha*, 1030 M)



“Heritage” in L'altra economia, Rome
(my photograph)

Trying to approach wayang kulit and the interrelated fields of studies concerning Javanese culture, the researcher must take epistemological and self-reflective cautions. This is the main advice that reading *The Java that never was: Academic Theories and Political Practices* (Antlöv and Hellman 2005) gave me; that is, it unveiled the reciprocal influences between research, theory and field studies. The authors contributed to examining both how academic discourses have shaped the images of Java and how the study of Java has influenced theoretical development. They remarked that academics and researchers played a significant role in construing particular discourses in Java; and that Java influenced general theory and academic debates, due to the attention it gained from a large number of scholars.

Despite the risk of paralysis, producing inaction or empty discussions, since any thought or perception could be liable to be questioned, the analyses discourage a fresh or ingenuous approach, which might attract a student entering the fields, and invite a consideration of the conceptions that have been supported in the past. One

must be aware that “the notion of Java and its people has radically changed over decades” (idem: 2). The heyday of Indonesian studies seems to belong to the Cold War era, when it was perceived as geopolitically vital from a Western perspective: “by the mid-1970s, Java (and Indonesia) was full of anthropologists, historians, political historians and economists who created first-hand empirical material on the culture and, in many different ways, contributed to the social construction of Java” (idem: 6).

As concerns the Javanese art and culture debates more specifically, it is depicted as “a favourable entry point from which to understand Javanese societies” (idem: 6), in which wayang played a cardinal role. Thus, various approaches towards Javanese art in general and wayang in particular also changed over time. They may overlap, intertwine, coevolve and shape each other. In the wave of postcolonial studies, colonial discourses on art were investigated, seeking the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism. In order to promote a certain “image”, refined and mystic, of Java and the “Other”, certain features were fixed and others discarded by Dutch orientalist (Pemberton 1994; Sears 1996). From paying attention to the verbal dimension, often transcribed to convey the message that it seemed to contain, wayang came to be treated as significant “texts” (Arps 1993) that inform about social and political conditions. Then the concept of performance prevailed (Mrázek 2002; 2005), until the more recent emerging studies through the lens of intangible cultural heritage (Andrieu 2009; Boonstra 2014), from which this chapter and the research may not have existed otherwise, from a self-aware point of view, despite my resistance.

“Don’t think of an elephant!” says George Lakoff to his students. But he adds that he never happened to find a student who is able to do this (Lakoff 2004: 3). The elephant is a big animal, a large shape, a huge frame, a mental structure that shapes the way we see the world. In the actual “era of heritage” (Fowler 1992), a “period of general patrimonialization” (Bendix 2009) and “universalizing” idea of heritage (Harvey 2008), heritage discourse can be associated with a very large elephant, in cultural studies especially. On questioning culture through the frame of heritage discourse I encountered disappointment and irritation as a primary reaction to the academic elephant incubator. If my expectation was that academia should

encourage further human understandings and broader student views, I perceived it rather as locating borders, limiting the learning process, through a kind of “corpus of authorised, propositional knowledge” (Ingold 2013: 13).

Refusing the heritage frame, I was not saying that heritage does not exist nor that wayang kulit could not also be subjected to heritage formation or be considered intangible cultural heritage. Just considering that it has been more than a decade since the Indonesian wayang’s inscription on UNESCO Lists as Intangible Cultural Heritage, probably on one hand it is also so. One may wonder to what extent wayang kulit discourses and practices are part of ICH practices and discourses, and vice-versa; to what extent the recognition of wayang as ICH of humanity is having an impact on it, if any; how wayang kulit is changing and who participates in these changes. One may question when is heritage, when wayang is heritage, for whom and by whom, something similar to Felicia Hughes-Freeland consideration of the “when-ness” of art for exploring the Javanese historical condition and making evidence of a politicization of aesthetics (1997b: 474).

However, I became aware of conceiving heritage as false, an illusion or a big lie. At the same time, I realized that it doesn’t mean it doesn’t exist and that my conjectures could easily fall into arrogance. When with my feet in fieldwork, I could not make as if that elephant does not exist, avoiding seeing and thinking about it, like ‘an elephant in the room’: “we all know it is there but it can be seen as quite embarrassing, especially if it is linked to expressions of nationalism or patriotism, and so it often goes unaddressed” (Smith and Waterton 2009: 49). Facing that elephant turned to be a challenge, focusing on it, trying to know its formation and applications, from various angles, in the height of contradictions it resumes, with the auspice of both learning from it and being able to see next to it. Not by chance is the elephant a very big animal, herbivore, with an extraordinary intelligence and memory.

Meeting with the elephant

Paris, 7 November 2003. UNESCO officially proclaims *Indonesian Wayang Puppet Theatre* as Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. It is the first “living heritage” from Indonesia to gain a place among those worthy of international

heritage attention.

The resolution proposing an international distinction for outstanding expressions of living cultural heritage and cultural spaces was adopted at the 1997 UNESCO General Conference, after an International Consultation on the Preservation of Popular Cultural Spaces in 1997 in Marrakesh. UNESCO's Executive Board adopted the Regulations relating to the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 1998. The objective of the programme was to raise awareness of the importance of oral and intangible heritage and the need to safeguard it; to evaluate and list the world's oral and intangible heritage; to encourage countries to establish national inventories and to take legal and administrative measures for the protection of their oral and intangible heritage; and to promote the participation of traditional artists and local practitioners in identifying and revitalizing their ICH. It concerned forms of popular and traditional cultural expressions and cultural spaces which had to demonstrate outstanding value as masterpiece of the human creative genius; to give wide evidence of their roots in the cultural tradition or cultural history of the community concerned; to be a means of affirming the cultural identity of the cultural communities concerned; to provide proof of excellence in the application of the skill and technical qualities displayed; to affirm their value as unique testimony of living cultural traditions; and to be at risk of degradation or of disappearing.

The application process was limited to a single proposal per member state, every two years. The proposal, together with an action plan for the safeguarding and promotion, had to be submitted in close collaboration with the tradition bearers and communities concerned, following the rules established by the *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity: Guide for the Presentation of Candidature Files* (2001). Upon submission, an International Jury of eighteen members of academic experts and specialists examined the applications and finally the Director-General proclaimed the selected Masterpieces.¹ Between 2001 and 2005, ninety "Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" were proclaimed by UNESCO: nineteen in 2001; twenty-eight in 2003, among which the Indonesian wayang puppet theatre; and forty-three in 2005,

¹ <https://ich.unesco.org/en/proclamation-of-masterpieces-00103>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

including the Indonesian kris, or dagger. Those “outstanding” examples of the world’s intangible cultural heritage were located in more than 70 countries from all regions of the world: 14 from Africa, 8 from the Arab States, 30 from the Asia-Pacific region, 21 from Europe and 17 from Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Masterpieces programme is part of the processes that saw the emergence of the intangible cultural heritage issue, the attempts at its definition and the resulting protection systems. The notions of outstanding and universal value, excellence, uniqueness, creative genius, emphasized as selective criteria for safeguarding strategies (at national and international level), became object of heated debates and criticism between member states. These and more questions continued to animate academic discussions among anthropologists and ethnomusicologists especially, pervading also the museums’ practices (Boonstra 2014: 121-122). Attention to the most spectacular expressions and the most economically advantageous might leave ordinary practices aside. Then, risks of fossilization, spectacularization and musealization, turning community practices into bureaucratic institutions and obtaining funding at the expense of their social function were pointed out. Nevertheless, the programme could be said to have contributed to the diffusion of the development of the new heritage concept, which saw its last accomplishment with the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. The idea of “masterpieces” was functional to local and national political rhetoric and through the media in order to emphasize the idea of world heritage as “wonders of the world”. In order to better understand the emergence of these concepts and the elaboration of the programmes, it may be useful retrace the steps in which they coevolved.

Walking next to Intangible Cultural Heritage

To confine to a precise date, historical period or geopolitical area the emergence of the intangible cultural heritage issue and concept is problematic, unless reference is made to the encounters, contacts and exchanges, to which the word *confine* in its etymological meaning deriving from Latin, moreover makes reference – *cum*, in common.

“[T]he challenges of cross-cultural interpenetration are not new, even if the Western influences today are seen as reaching more deeply via new trends of globalization and advances in digital communication. Some of the strategies being displayed in the UNESCO conventions on tangible and intangible culture that have been introduced since the 1970s are extensions of far earlier encounters” (Foley 2014: 370-371).

The interactions, even forced, as in the case of Japan with the United States related by Kathy Foley, made vulnerability and the need for cultural protection and affirmation emerge. While in the mid-nineteenth century the concern about conservation of remains of the past was mainly a national matter, in the 1970s and 1980s the debates with regard to the nature of heritage and its conservation assumed an international scale. It came to be discussed in terms of folklore, traditional skills, popular culture, even “non-physical cultural heritage”, until it was replaced by the expression “intangible cultural heritage”, first officially introduced by UNESCO in 1993 (Akagawa 2015: 71). The concept of intangible cultural heritage is used in distinction and reaction to tangible heritage, and in response to the demand to expand the concept of heritage, giving space to the diversity of cultural expressions around the world. From restoring and conserving products, the focus on heritage shifted to a more anthropological, dynamic, intangible, “cultural practice”, for supporting producers, their knowledge and skills, their life space and social environment (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004a: 52-54). Thus, the definition of heritage tends to completely merge with culture, also calling into stake issues of cultural property, human rights and democracy.

That is, with the boom of Enlightenment in West-European States, heritage was tightly linked to national identity formation and national state-building institutions.² The focus was on physical, material, tangible and static “cultural objects”, such as historic buildings, monuments, artefacts and sites, considered to be of intrinsic and innate value. Institutional bodies and legislations concerning protection of heritage emerged, especially in Britain, France and Germany. In a kind of game of reflected mirrors, since Tokugawa (or the Edo period) ended and the Japanese opening up took place, Japan has been observing Europe and United

² See Harvey 2001 for a critical analysis of the longevity of relationship between ideas of heritage and national identity.

States, and vice-versa. With the Meiji period, Japan had been concerned with the material culture issue and had outlined laws in order to preserve it, such as the Preservation of Ancient Objects law (1871).

Museums “as repositories and manifestations of national identity and cultural achievement” were established (Boonstra 2014: 10) and professional experts in architecture, archaeology and also anthropology became the holders of responsibility for caring for material remains of the past (see MacDonald and Fyfe 1996; Karp and Lavine 1991). In 1931 the International Museums Office organized the Athens Conference on conservation of historic buildings that resulted with the *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments*, which consisted of a kind of manifesto with seven points that reflected the growing consciousness of the idea of common world heritage, providing the first outline of the concept of international heritage.

The management of heritage became an international matter mostly as an outcome of the two World Wars since the destruction of many historical legacies had sounded an alarm and contributed to the growth of awareness of the idea of common world heritage. In 1945 at the end of the Second World War, the Charter of the United Nation was adopted, founding international law. In the same year, at the United Nations Conference for the establishment of an Educational and Cultural Organization, an intergovernmental organization was constituted, specialized in international cooperation for education, science and culture: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The preamble to its constitution, signed on 16 November 1945 and which came into force on 4 November 1946, states: “since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.” The mission to “establish the conditions for peaceful coexistence between nations” was also pursued in the context of global heritage and human diversity. However UNESCO policies and its general ideology saw transformations in its history, of which Wiktor Stoczkowski identified three periods: the first (1945-1965) and the second period (1965-1985) share an emphasis on human unity, while the third period (1985-now) supports “local identities and the right of the minorities to conserve their traditional differences” (Stoczkowski 2009).

In a political background of decolonization and the Cold War, the Venice Charter (1964) marked the emergence of the notions of 'cultural development' stimulating discussion on how cultural policies could be integrated into development strategies. The diversity of national cultures, their uniqueness and originality are acknowledged as an essential basis for human progress and the development of world culture. From this is derived the necessity to preserve cultural heritage that in many countries was threatened due to lack of resources, training institutes and trained personnel. Culture thus gradually found its place on the political agenda and international law as a context and platform for dialogue and development. In 1972 the first UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage or commonly known as the World Heritage Convention, embraced natural resources together with cultural heritage as the object of conservation policies. Cultural heritage concerned "monuments, groups of buildings and sites", while natural heritage concerned "natural features, geological and physiographical formations, natural sites".³ With its programmatic approach, based on a listing system and the use of operational guidelines for its implementation, the 1972 World Heritage Convention strengthened the identification of cultural heritage as tangible and monumental, and became the standard reference for including conservation policies as a means of development, largely through tourism.

Criticisms of eurocentrism in the conception of heritage are not long in coming, claiming a more representative one. In 1973 the government of Bolivia presented a petition to UNESCO for the conservation and promotion of folklore. The awareness of the necessity to employ a broader anthropological concept of cultural heritage grew during the 1980s. In 1982 Mexico City hosted the *World Conference on Cultural Policies* which passed into history as *Mondiacult*. "Pointing out that the heritage of buildings should not be the main object of attention", the suggestion was made of a more dynamic and "broader definition of the cultural heritage that would extend it to all the forms of cultural and artistic expression inherited from the near or distant past".⁴ In 1989 the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore contributed to the cultural heritage debate and to constructing

³ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

⁴ <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0005/000525/052505eo.pdf>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

the concept of intangible cultural heritage. However, since a recommendation is a more flexible instrument, it remained mostly ignored.

In 1990s the heritage boom took place, together with the involvement of World Bank agencies. In 1994, the World Heritage Committee launched the Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List in order to rearrange UNESCO policies and rectify the selective criteria. The 1972 World Heritage List was largely criticized for lacking balance in the type of properties listed and in the geographical areas of the world represented: the majority concerned European sites and monumental architecture. There was therefore no balanced representation of “world heritage” due to the conception of heritage itself as “masterpiece” and “excellence” rooted in art history and archaeology categories that penalized most non-Western UNESCO member countries. A broader and global definition of heritage was required. From the static, fixed and monumental idea of heritage to be preserved, it moved to that of living cultural expression. That was a shift from archival paradigm, documentation and cataloguing of material and immaterial aspects towards the idea of reproduction and transmission of cultural practices. The proverbial statement “In Africa, when an old man dies, a library burns down” by the Malian Amadou Hampâté Bâ and quoted in 1996 *Our Creative Diversity: report of the World Commission on Culture and Development*, reflects the shift of focus onto carriers and transmitters of traditions. Finally, in 1998 the Regulations relating to the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity were adopted, but it was necessary to wait for 2001 for the first Proclamation of Masterpieces. Meanwhile in 1999 a conference entitled *A Global Assessment of the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore: Local Empowerment and International Cooperation* was held in Washington to better discuss the definition of intangible cultural heritage, to be intended as dynamic expressions, not as a mere passage from the material to the immaterial. The attempt was in order to reject cultural objectification and to redefine culture, in order to include not only concrete expressions, but also knowledge, values and social relationships that make their (re)creation possible. It also follows the centrality of the communities of holders and the need to safeguard traditions by supporting those who practise them, rather than the scholars or

institutions that document them. The term “folklore” is abolished and replaced with popular, living, oral, traditional culture. The concept of “traditional community” assumes a renewed shape, manifesting the complexity of the concept itself in modernity, dissociated from territorial assumptions. The risks for cultural essentialization as a vehicle for ethno-nationalism are, however, stressed.

Influenced by a model of cultural policies in course in the Asian countries of Japan and South Korea, the attention shifted to intangible culture and transmission. Compared to the international scene, Japanese cultural policies were based on a rather more extensive notion of heritage as it covered a broad spectrum of properties, also Intangible Cultural Properties, such as performing and applied arts, Folk Cultural Properties and Buried Cultural Properties. When the culture seemed threatened by the American Occupation, the Japanese country moved to support intangible culture more fully and in 1950 the Law for Protection of Cultural Properties, which combined precedent laws dating back to 1919, 1929 and 1933, was passed (Foley 2014). Under the law, individuals were selected as preservers of important intangible cultural properties since 1955 until now. Designated as a *Ningen Kokuho* (Living National Treasure) by the Ministry of Education, these cultural transmitters may be in place of the Meiji system of *Teishitsu Gigeiin* (Imperial Household Artists). The Japanese idea of cultural properties was adopted with almost no changes in Korea in the 1960s. However, Japan in particular played a decisive role in the formulation of policies resulting in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Foley 2014; Akagawa 2015). In 1993, following an agreement between UNESCO and the Japanese government, a special Japanese Funds-in-Trust for the Preservation and Promotion of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was created with the aim of assisting UNESCO in its actions in favour of intangible cultural heritage (Andrieu 2009: 289). Various projects and meetings in several countries, especially in the Pacific region, were supported by the fund, among them the implementation of the National Action Plan for the Safeguarding of the Wayang Puppet Theatre of Indonesia⁵ Furthermore, Kōichirō Matsuura was elected Director-General of UNESCO in 1999 and maintained the charge until 2009.

⁵ <https://ich.unesco.org/en/japan-funds-in-trust-00115>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

In 2003 the Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage was put forward and adopted in 2006, in place of the Masterpiece programme. The ninety masterpieces were automatically inscribed into the new Representative List when the Convention came into force in 2006 – according to Article 34, after the ratification of the 30th State. The first 30 states that ratified the Convention were 8 Asian, 6 Arab, 6 African, 4 Latin American, 6 European countries, according to the definition of Member States' regions. It is interesting to note that in this first phase of ratification there are only Eastern European countries (Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Croatia, Iceland, Romania), which historically have paid more attention to traditional popular culture.

The objective of the 2003 Convention is to safeguard intangible cultural heritage; to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned; to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof; and to provide for international cooperation and assistance. It covered the following domains: oral tradition and expressions, including language; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship.

It places emphasis on the equal recognition of expressions and traditions with no hierarchical distinctions among them, abolishing the concept of “outstanding universal value”. International recognition is based on the importance of this living heritage for the sense of identity and continuity of the communities in which it is created, transmitted and re-created. This recognition is given by providing visibility to their heritage, which is the main purpose of the list foreseen in Article 16. The Convention focuses principally on safeguarding activities and the exchange of good practices, rather than the listing system. While the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage deals primarily with the processes of transmission, the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions is dedicated to the production of cultural expressions, as circulated and shared through cultural activities, goods and services. It complements the set of legal instruments deployed by UNESCO to foster diversity and a global

environment in which the creativity of individuals and peoples is encouraged, contributing to their economic development and to the promotion and preservation of the world's cultural diversity.

The tightrope elephant

UNESCO responded to the call for more inclusive definitions of heritage and a more “representative” approach to cultural heritage (Harrison and Rose 2010: 246) by adopting an innovative approach to the theory of cultural heritage, which rejects the concepts of authenticity and being outstanding, while emphasizing the ideas of safeguarding and community. From the “protection” measures adopted by the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the new “safeguarding” policy aimed not only at “cultural expressions”, but also at the social act of creation and re-elaboration that allows its reproduction and transmission as dynamic cultural practice. Local actors are encouraged by the institutions for their creativity. However, documentation and inventories are still considered an indispensable support, as the 2003 Convention urges member states to establish inventories of intangible heritage in their territories (Article 12).

In the 1972 World Heritage Convention, an idea of a static and academic object prevailed, centred on the notion of authenticity as essential to perpetuate the sense of historical continuity and cultural heritage. This definition of authenticity often seems a doubtful/ambiguous application of authenticity criteria for non-Western sites, as was the emblematic case of the candidacies of the Japanese wooden or periodically re-built architectures. Criticized as ethnocentric, the concept of “authenticity” was rejected in the conception of the intangible cultural heritage and in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage's selection criteria. The idea of “outstanding” at the base of the “Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” was also criticized, since it was unsuitable for ordinary cultural expressions, which are believed to be threatened precisely because they are ordinary and have little or no spectacular impact on the media. Then the 2003 Convention established the Representative List of the ICH, integrated by 2005 with the Urgent Safeguarding List and the Register of Best Safeguarding Practices List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. However, the same

existence of lists involves selection processes, which recalled the idea of excellence and often political manipulations. Making a list is by necessity a practice of inclusion and exclusion. Even though the awareness that any list reflects the biases and politics of selection and representation, the contradiction is the expectation of a kind of list, serving as a map, for exploring new territory. It is clear that the prosperity of human expressions of life cannot be reduced to a list, and it is necessary to keep looking beyond it.

The list reveals complex problems related to access, funding, networks and social capital. The impacts of inequalities in global politics are severe and can activate forms of competitiveness and “patrimonial rivalry” rather than collaboration. The lists can lead to museification of cultural practices: the attempts to safeguard cultural practices, feeds the risks to materialize and objectivate its inner life (Taylor 2008). The lists would also be promoters of a globalizing effect, exhibiting a unique stage of local traditions: a new dimension for cultural expressions only reachable by adapting to a common homogenizing format. To be included on or excluded from a list implies selection criteria. The selection criteria impose a formal and methodological homogeneity, a standardization of categories used to think about these cultural expressions: a global grammar. Even if an important shift occurred in the concept of intangible heritage to include people, their knowledge and skills, UNESCO’s efforts and measures have the effect of building “an internationally agreed-upon concept of heritage, cultural inventories, cultural policies, documentation, archives, research institutes, and the like” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004a: 55).

Intangible cultural heritage is associated with the idea of community. In fact, the 2003 Convention considers the bearers of ICH in the forefront and the participation of local communities that identify themselves in it (see articles 2.1, 11b, 13, 15) as fundamental for its safeguarding. According to the Convention, an ICH can be recognized as such only if the communities recognize it. It is the ICH, however, that often defines and attests to the existence of a community. ICH is a tool for imagining a community. There is the ambiguity and difficulty in defining the concept of community. The ethnographic analyses of the patrimonialization processes show that in reality even the smallest communities are not those homogeneous and

balanced contexts: conflict of unevenness, class and economic differences, differences in power, competition. In this context the ICH can trigger cultural competitions that exploit the ICH and make it become a folklore of cultural differences exhibited in the authenticity supermarket. Often the communities are also informal and do not necessarily have a spokesperson or a designated leader. In this context the registration of a cultural expression in the ICH and on the list can activate leadership processes.

The Convention does not address the delicate issue related to intellectual property. The concept of ICH, referring to the idea of ownership, conceals an ambiguity regarding the protection of intellectual property rights. While material heritage is generally public or private property, in the case of ICH it is a matter of collective creations, lacking in individual authorship in which it is difficult to exercise a property right. The legal concept of intellectual property is based instead on the person of author and on the created object. This type of protection applies to the final result and not to the underlying dynamics (processes, methods, knowledge). The exclusive application of this protection system is unsuitable for a real protection of knowledge understood as cultural elements.

Debates and criticism on heritage policies and conservation practice not only animated and accompanied the processes of changing conception and valorization of heritage, they have also permeated the academic field transversally in several disciplines, such as anthropology, archaeology, architecture, art, history, psychology, sociology and tourism. It can be said that “heritage is a merging interdisciplinary field of study” (Sørensen and Carman 2009: 3). Approximately around the 1980s, investigations of heritage arose through social science, seeking mostly to understand the people-heritage relationship. David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985) is one of the foundational texts of heritage studies literature. With a novel anthropological approach, it challenged many assumptions in international built heritage conservation practice and allowed conservation policy and practice to be understood as based on cultural and personal values instead of objective or “scientific” values often found in conservation doctrine.

It paved the way for the shift from the reduction of heritage as merely technical issues, such as conservation and preservation, to the recognition that

preservation and conservation themselves are not only technical resources, but part of heritage and influence the very logic of heritage, in which power relations do matter. It was showed that heritage does not exist per se and its meanings and values are neither static nor inherent. It is rather a matter about the attribution of meanings and the consequent uses of the past in the present. The “top-down” process was then criticized in which the so-called “experts”, even often involving stakeholders, control the meaning associated with heritage.

In *Uses of Heritage* (2006), one of the most influential works in the heritage studies field, Laurajane Smith introduced the locution of the “Authorized Heritage Discourse” (AHD), using the Foucaultian “discourse” concept to underline the hegemony in which “the proper care of heritage, and its associated values, lies with the experts, as it is only they who have the abilities, knowledge and understanding to identify the innate value and knowledge contained at and within historically important sites and places” (Smith 2006: 29-30).⁶ In critical reaction to the “Authorized Heritage Discourse” (AHD), Critical Heritage Studies (CHS) took shape until it became an Association. At its initial conference at the University of Gothenburg in 2012, a preliminary manifesto was published, launching the challenge to respond to the document, and question the received wisdom of what heritage is; to energise heritage studies by drawing on wider intellectual sources; to vigorously question the conservative cultural and economic power relations that outdated understandings of heritage seem to underpin; and to invite the active participation of people and communities who to date have been marginalised in the creation and management of ‘heritage’.⁷

“What is critical heritage studies?” CHS is about the present, not the past; it explores contemporary relationships between people, heritage, and power; it engages with and attempts to correct or improve conservation practice. CHS considers heritage as a process (not a thing) and inherently intangible; as inherently dissonant and created through a continual process of conflict and negotiation.⁸

⁶ <http://heritagestudies.org/index.php/conservation-today/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

⁷ <https://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/history>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

⁸ <http://heritagestudies.org/index.php/2017/06/28/what-is-critical-heritage-studies-and-how-does-it-incorporate-the-discipline-of-history/> last accessed May 31, 2020.

"[Heritage] may be approached purely as an object of study, or it may be seen as a means of generating income, or as part of political action or sustainable development to engender community spirit and involvement. The concern may be with its regulation or with deciphering its inalienable right, while for others it is a construct; yet others see it as timeless and belonging to all" (Sørensen and Carman 2009: 3).

From a historical perspective, David Harvey argued that the uses of the past are an integral part of human culture and condition, and therefore have a much deeper history than contemporary debates (Harvey 2001; 2008). What is nowadays defined as heritage and the process of patrimonialization signed by UNESCO in agreements with member states is actually just a very recent phase of a much longer process. What distinguished this century is the explicit and conscious, organized and "universalizing" idea of heritage (Harvey 2008; Choay 2007). Heritage formation is therefore a dynamic field of social action involving power relations, processes of appropriation, belonging, exclusion and inclusion, by different actors at local, national and global levels, inherently intangible and performative changing over time and plural, multilayered (Smith 2006). Through a processual understanding, it is invariably rooted in long-term processes out of which a contemporary discourse on heritage has emerged.

Falling on the Indonesian ground

I have introduced the heritage theoretical and practical frame and traced the path of heritage formation until the conception of ICH on an international level. The tension between pulling forces for heritage discourses has been exposed. To see this tension as confined to conflicts over heritage is to miss the much larger drama implicit in the linkage between heritage discourse, the project of modernity, and the interests of the nation state (Byrne 2014: 4). How does it take place in Indonesia? The UNESCO Convention recognizes the value of the community; however, the path leading to recognition by UNESCO in practice passes through international and national institutions, far from local. Indonesia in general is largely underrepresented and today, with its growing economic power, is exploring strategies to promote culture. How the convention is to be applied in the real world does matter. In order

to understand how the Indonesian wayang puppet theatre came to be framed in international heritage discourse, the attempt to delineate how heritage formation is re-created in Indonesia also seems necessary.

According to Trinidad Rico “conversations about tangible heritage and intangible heritage matter in Southeast Asia (Rico 2016: 13), yet “the field of heritage ethnography is still relatively new” – she wrote more ahead – “heritage studies, through the documentation of heritage constructs and their preservation, is increasingly recognized as being about people, despite its disproportionate focus on objects, monuments, and their tangibility (idem: 22). Considering heritage as embodied and thus inseparable from people’s subjectivities, Trinidad Rico’s ethnography of “heritage at risk” investigated the relationship between destruction, risk and heritage in the construction of post-tsunami heritage in Banda Aceh (Sumatra). The focus is on the relationship between people life stories, histories, and emotions and the construction of culturally meaningful landscape. She argued that at the heart of constructions of heritage lies the decay, destruction and loss – “all heritage is somehow at risk” (idem: 18).

Similarly, according to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett “disappearance was and continues to be an enabling condition” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004b: 5). She argued that the process of removal, followed by the display in museums of what has been made to disappear, was the enabling condition for ethnology and its collections. Changes within the discipline of ethnology produced a kind of crisis and repudiation of its own history. The devaluation of the scientific value of ethnographic collections prepares the way for their revaluation as heritage. An on-going process of devaluation and revaluation enabled first the establishment of ethnology and museums, and then the production of heritage. The latter also constituted a new possibility for ethnology and museums to engage with their own histories and heritages, and the heritage of those whose objects were taken (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004b).

Significantly, the publication of *Sites, Bodies and Stories: Imagining Indonesian History* (Legêne, Purwanto and Nordholt 2015) arose from a problematic relationship between a museum and its collections. It resulted from a research programme on the dynamics of heritage formation in colonial and postcolonial

Indonesia and the Netherlands. The promoter of the programme was the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam that decided to face the problematic relationship with its “orphaned collections” – what they meant and how they should be handled – as a legacy of the colonial academic discipline of physical anthropology. Experts from academia, museum sector and NGOs, namely from the Faculty of Cultural Sciences at Universitas Gadjah Mada (Yogyakarta), the Faculty of Arts at VU University Amsterdam, the Eijkman Institute for Molecular Biology (Jakarta), the NIOD Institute of Holocaust, War and Genocide Studies (Amsterdam), KITLV⁹ (Jakarta and Amsterdam) and the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, were involved (Legêne, Purwanto and Nordholt 2015: xi). Through nine case studies on Indonesia ‘after Empire’, the main focus is on the intertwined practices – operating in local, national and international contexts – of writing history and making heritage, which play an important role in cultural citizenship.

Regarding wayang literature, actually there are two heritage ethnographies that specifically address heritage issues. In *Corps de bois, souffle humain: le théâtre de marionnettes wayang golek de Java Ouest* (2014a), Sarah Anaïs Andrieu studied the political anthropology of the Sundanese (West Java) wayang golek and its process of heritage formation for her doctoral degree, questioning the present and contemporary appropriation of wayang golek.

In her doctoral dissertation *Changing Wayang Scenes: Heritage formation and wayang performance-practice in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia* (2014) Sadiyah Boonstra also illustrates the dynamics of heritage formation such as standardization, codification and institutionalization from the colonial to the postcolonial era, at national and global levels, as well as the political dynamics at play in wayang (Boonstra 2014). From the perspective of “applied discourse analyses” on the historical examination of heritage discourses in texts and ethnographic fieldwork of actual practices, Sadiyah Boonstra shows that “the making of cultural heritage is a highly politicized process” (idem: 222). She recalls that “wayang has since long been regulated and preserved through the intervention of academic, governmental and cultural institutions both in Indonesia and the

⁹ Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (The Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology).

Netherlands” (idem: 8). Focusing on the representation of wayang in texts written about wayang, she critically examines dialectical dynamics in the construction of wayang discourses and adds an historical dimension in studying the legacies of the colonial past in contemporary heritage formation. Later through case-studies of three dalang, she explores how the process of heritage formation and its discourse affect the wayang performative practice.

At this point, let’s retrace the institutional process of Indonesian wayang puppet theatre as ICH. It was at the UNESCO General Conference in 2001 that the Indonesian delegation decided to apply for the second Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. The choice for the first candidacy fell on wayang. According to Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati, Indonesian archeologist and historian, and Indonesia’s Director-General of Culture in the Ministry of Education and Culture from 1993 to 1999, “it happened because wayang has been widely researched”.¹⁰ While Gaura Mancacaritadipura, a member of Sena Wangi’s team that worked for UNESCO application, further explained:

“at that time the Deputy Minister for Culture was Prof. Dr. Sri Hastanto, a professor at ISI Surakarta. So he made a list of forty kinds of cultural heritage, which might be nominated, and he chose wayang first. He used to be one of the board members of Sena Wangi, he is expert on gamelan music”.¹¹

Sena Wangi (Indonesian National Wayang Secretariat) and Pepadi (Indonesian Puppeteers/Pedalangan Union) are associations, which are actively involved in revitalizing wayang. Sena Wangi in particular was the motor for the UNESCO application. Sena Wangi’s association was established on August 12, 1975; that is, during the regime of general Suharto who supported it granting an office building in Jakarta. The main task of this organization is the proposition and coordination of activities for preserving and developing wayang and the art of puppetry in Indonesia. The association’s members are diverse and include artists, students, cultural experts and amateurs, prominent public figures and also institutions, banks and training schools. Enterprises, foundations, associations, government bodies and individuals

¹⁰ Interview with Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati (July 23, 2016, Appendix n.5).

¹¹ Interview with Gaura Mancacaritadipura (November 24, 2015, Appendix n.4).

finance Sena Wangi's organization.

In 2002 in view of the preparation for the application, the Indonesian government participated in the Regional Workshop for Cultural Personnel in Asia and the Pacific on Promotion of the "Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity",¹² and on that occasion, wayang kulit was performed. According to the ACCU-UNESCO Final Report of the just mentioned 2002 Regional Workshop, under the topic "Identifying a Cultural Expression as Heritage in a Multi-cultural and a Multi-ethnic Society" the question of diversity is clearly raised: "some expressions belong to many ethnic or cultural groups, for example Indonesia's *wayang kulit* belongs to ten ethnic groups". Notwithstanding, the UNESCO application requirements deprived that same diversity, easily paving the way for motives of discontent and lack of representation. On that occasion, the Deputy Minister of Culture Prof. Dr. Sri Hastanto, as representative of Indonesia, made a speech, in which stressed that:

"traditional arts which are becoming less popular are being changed to become pop art, with priority on the entertainment side. Examples of this are *ketoprak humor*, *ludruk humor*, and *wayang kulit humor* in the field of traditional theatre, and *gamelan campursari* in the field of traditional music. This activity, which is in fact business oriented and mainly for financial profit, is highly popular among the general public. Of course it cannot be hoped that philosophical, aesthetical and ethical values and concepts will appear in this kind of activity. However now that this kind of activity has been around for almost two decades, the community is beginning to miss once again performances of traditional arts which are proportional, contain values, and raise the standards of the owners and supporting community. As such, this phenomenon, although it has had negative effects, has ultimately brought about an awareness of the community to return to art of a high quality" (ACCU-UNESCO 2002).

According to Prof. Dr. Sri Hastanto, the wayang situation is clearly pictured as being in decay as it has acquired a commercial and entertainment function in detriment to

¹² The Regional Workshop for Cultural Personnel in Asia and the Pacific took place in Tokyo, Japan, from 12 to 16 March 2002. It was co-organized by the Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO (ACCU) and UNESCO in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO and the Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan. Thirty participants from twenty-eight countries, three Resource Persons (two International Jury Members of the Proclamation program and one Japanese expert), as well as three UNESCO representatives, took part in the Workshop. The Workshop was made possible thanks to UNESCO/Japan Funds-in-Trust for the Preservation and Promotion of Intangible Cultural Heritage, as well as by the ACCU International Exchange Programme under the UNESCO/Japan Funds-in-Trust for the Promotion of International Cooperation and Mutual Understanding.

its philosophical, aesthetical and ethical values; hence the call for recognition and revitalization.

Sena Wangi was commissioned to carry out the research and the process. First, the information was compiled and the standard form filled in. It took “two or three months maybe, working intensely”; and difficulties were encountered in “trying to understand what they actually want, what information they want (...) 49 criteria to be fulfilled, so the file was quite thick”.¹³ Sena Wangi’s team drew up an application dossier entitled *Summary research report: Wayang. The Traditional Puppetry and Drama of Indonesia* (2002). In addition, UNESCO required supplementary information that constitutes the *Addendum* (2002) and an Action Plan named *Panca Krida*, based on five points which clearly refer to *pancasila*, the five foundational principles of the Indonesian state. Following the criteria of the *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity: Guide for the Presentation of Candidature Files* (2001), the application file was to be accompanied by two videos, one lasting ten minutes, and the other two hours.

On November 7, 2003 the Indonesian wayang puppet theatre was proclaimed a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.¹⁴ On April 21, 2004 in Paris, France, a ceremony was held at UNESCO Headquarters (Salle 1 Auditorium) to present the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. The ceremony coincided with the 169th session of the UNESCO Executive Council attended by representatives of all UNESCO Member States. On this occasion, UNESCO Director-General Kōichirō Matsuura handed the award certificate to Dr. Haji Solichin, Chairman of Sena Wangi. Superlative adjectives are invariably employed in the opening speeches for introducing and describing wayang, which responds to the criteria of the Proclamation.¹⁵ On this occasion, an Indonesian “cultural mission” was invited to UNESCO in order to perform wayang kulit and wayang golek. The group was composed of two puppeteers and the respective musicians and singers: dalang

¹³ Interview with Gaura Mancacaritadipura (November 24, 2015, Appendice n.4).

According to Sarah Anaïs Andrieu “in a second step, the description and justification of the application was based on six criteria” (Andrieu 2014: 291, *my translation from French*).

¹⁴ See the message by I Gde Ardika, at the time Minister of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia (Appendix n.1).

¹⁵ See the discourses pronounced by Kōichirō Matsuura and Drs. Haji Solichin (Appendix n.2 and n.3).

Ki Manteb Soedarsono from Surakarta (Central Java) with eleven musicians and two singers were representing *wayang kulit purwa*;¹⁶ dalang Eka T. Supriadi from Sunda (Western Java) with seven musicians and a singer were representing *wayang golek purwa*. The group made a European tour from April 14 to 30, 2004 to Angers, Niort, Rouen, Strasbourg, Brussels, Vienna and Budapest.

The dalang representing *wayang golek*, according to Anais Andrieu, had adverse impressions due to feelings of favouritism for *wayang kulit* and of humiliation at the UNESCO event (Andrieu 2014a: 295). Discontent also arose in Central Java, among dalang and *wayang kulit* aficionados who often question the choice for the so-called classical Surakarta style and dalang Ki Manteb Soedarsono as representing it. The feeling that emerged is one of exclusion and injustice, for not being taken into account and represented. The choice for Ki Manteb Soedarsono as representing *wayang kulit purwa* from Surakarta, is probably based on four main reasons: first, the prominence and refinement attributed to *wayang kulit purwa* of Central Java. Although *wayang* is present in different styles and regions, they are subordinated to *wayang kulit purwa*, considered the model. Second, and deeply related, is the Javanese dominance and its courtly past. Third, Ki Manteb Soedarsono was at the peak of popularity, achieved by the media and his skills for performing puppet action. Fourth, personal relationships played a considerable role, since most of Sena Wangi's members are Javanese or from Surakarta. At the opening of the second edition of Festival Wayang Dunia (world) held in Solo, Ki Manteb Soedarsono recounted about the UNESCO invitation to Paris where he is said to have performed *Dasamuka Gugur* in 3 minutes and 2 seconds.¹⁷

The next step after the path that led to the official proclamation by UNESCO, was the implementation of the "action plan" for *Wayang Puppet Theatre*. The "action plan" was designed by Sena Wangi, with the aim of including the custodians of the tradition in both formal sectors (universities and schools teaching *wayang* such as ISI Surakarta, ISI Yogyakarta, ISI Bandung, ISI Denpasar, Arts Vocational High Schools and so forth) and informal, such as *wayang* traditional schools called *sanggar*. A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed at the beginning of the

¹⁶ As referred in the Introduction, *purwa* stands for original, classical, traditional.

¹⁷ From Ki Manteb Soedarsono's speech (November 6, 2016, Appendices n.6).

project helped to develop an inter-sectoral network among Sena Wangi, Pepadi Provincial Secretariats, ISI (Indonesian Arts Institute), STSI (Indonesian Arts University), and wayang training centres (PDMN Surakarta and Habirando Yogyakarta).

From the official report entitled *Safeguarding of the Wayang Puppet Theatre of Indonesia* (UNESCO 2008) about the achievements of the implementation of the action plan and problems faced by it, the recovery of two wayang styles is stressed, namely *wayang Palembang* from South Sumatra and *wayang Banjar* from South Kalimantan, which were endangered; and the ASEAN puppetry festival, first held in Jakarta (29 November – 3 December 2006). Simultaneously, difficulties were encountered in: (1) finding qualified human resources to participate in the efforts to preserve and develop intangible cultural heritage through a collaboration between the custodians and those who are experts in managing and organizing these kinds of projects; (2) facing frequent changes in the Indonesian government from 1998 until the present [2008] for long-term planning and execution of the programmes regarding intangible heritage; (3) funding budgets for the cultural section being reduced by the Department of Culture and Tourism in comparison with other departments – Sena Wangi was able to raise funds from the private sector and further assistance came from the Japanese Funds in Trust programme and UNESCO; and (4) the indifference towards traditional culture from the younger generation.

Several initiatives were undertaken such as the introduction of some items of intangible cultural heritage onto the school curriculum as well as advertising those elements on television. Moreover, a map of cultural heritage and/or intangible cultural heritage of Indonesia based upon web site databases operated at provincial, district, local and municipal levels in the form of a geographical map, with the aim of engaging government employees in collecting data and entering it into the system.

Originally proclaimed in 2003, the Indonesian wayang puppet theatre was registered on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008, after the Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage came into force in 2006, with the 30th ratification (according to Article 34). That same convention was ratified in Indonesia in 2007 by a team consisting of experts from the Departments of Culture and Foreign Affairs, Justice and Human Rights, State

Secretariat, Language Center and private experts, coordinated again by Dr. Sri Hastanto, at the time the Director General of Values for Culture, Arts and Film at the Department of Culture and Tourism.¹⁸

According to UNESCO website,¹⁹ Indonesian wayang puppet theatre is described under the following terms:

“Renowned for its elaborate puppets and complex musical styles, this ancient form of storytelling originated on the Indonesian island of Java. For ten centuries wayang flourished at the royal courts of Java and Bali as well as in rural areas. Wayang has spread to other islands (Lombok, Madura, Sumatra and Borneo) where various local performance styles and musical accompaniments have developed. While these carefully handcrafted puppets vary in size, shape and style, two principal types prevail: the three-dimensional wooden puppet (wayang klitik or golèk) and the flat leather shadow puppet (wayang kulit) projected in front of a screen lit from behind. Both types are characterized by costumes, facial features and articulated body parts. The master puppeteer (dalang) manipulates the swivelling arms by means of slender sticks attached to the puppets. Singers and musicians play complex melodies on bronze instruments and gamelan drums. In the past, puppeteers were regarded as cultivated literary experts who transmitted moral and aesthetic values through their art. The words and actions of comic characters representing the “ordinary person” have provided a vehicle for criticizing sensitive social and political issues, and it is believed that this special role may have contributed to wayang’s survival over the centuries. Wayang stories borrow characters from indigenous myths, Indian epics and heroes from Persian tales. The repertory and performance techniques were transmitted orally within the families of puppeteers, musicians and puppet-makers. Master puppeteers are expected to memorize a vast repertory of stories and to recite ancient narrative passages and poetic songs in a witty and creative manner. The Wayang Puppet Theatre still enjoys great popularity. However, to compete successfully with modern forms of pastimes such as video, television or karaoke, performers tend to accentuate comic scenes at the expense of the story line and to replace musical accompaniment with pop tunes, leading to the loss of some characteristic features”.

18 Since 2001 the Ministry of Culture and Tourism had been in charge for arts and culture in the Indonesian political structure. At the time of the proclamation of independence (1945) the Ministry of Education and Culture was instituted for the same purpose, later to be the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture (1998), until the split between the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Industry in 2011 (Andrieu 2014b: 151).

19 <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00063> last accessed May 31, 2020.

This description reflects UNESCO rhetoric that very likely seeks “to encourage the identification, preservation and promotion of such cultural expressions [masterpieces of oral and intangible culture that are endangered and deserve to be preserved for the future]” (Nas 2002: 139). The aspects that deserve to be noticed are diverse. First, if wayang is portrayed as renowned, it remains to be clarified by whom – practitioners, scholars, tourists, specialists, artisans, professionals, humanity? (Cfr. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006) – and in which modalities. Undoubtedly, wayang was widely studied, from various and interrelated points of view, such as musical, aesthetic, artistic, ritual and socio-political. In recent decades, wayang had attracted more attention both among the Indonesians and people abroad, in studying, attending or practicing wayang puppetry and playing gamelan instruments. Again, among the many types of wayang, the best-known and the type that has received more attention is the practice of wayang in Java. As Victoria M. Clara van Groenendaal points out, “when we speak of the puppet theatre of Indonesia we usually have the Javanese *wayang* theatre in mind. The leather puppets of the *wayang kulit* or the three-dimensional puppets of the *wayang golék* are more than well known. We often see them depicted, on all sorts of objects, as a kind of trademark of Indonesia” (Groenendaal 1993). Wayang indeed is erected as the symbol of the nation, as a trademark, an emblem, a commercial product of Indonesia, but the many variants and styles are not taken into account. As Richard Schechner noted, “wayang kulit itself has many sub-categories” (Schechner 1990: 57).

A second aspect of the UNESCO description that deserves to be noted is the emphasis on the elaborate, complex and ancient aspects of wayang, in such a way that it sounds like scholarly observations on wayang:

“In Javanese culture, which as a whole is quite difficult to analyse, the theatre is certainly one of the most complex phenomena” (Rassers 1959 [1931]);

“The movement of some wayang is so rich, complex and difficult that one of the highest aspirations of the Javanese dancers is to be able to equal the corresponding character skills in leather moved by the dalang” (Di Bernardi and Luijtdjens 1985: 26 *my translation from Italian*);

Knowingly or not, these emphases on difficulty of analysis, richness and complexity, and age might serve for a renewed rhetoric of promotion and enhancement, in line with the narrative of cultural uniqueness and threatened heritage.

The “origins” and expansion of wayang has been the topic of scholarly theories and debates in past studies, without solution due to the lack of evidence. In *On Thrones of Gold* (1970), James R. Brandon summarized the three most accredited theories regarding the “origins” of wayang: (1) the Javanese origin mostly defended by the Dutch orientalist Godard Hazeu, who “suggests that shadow theatre in Java grew out of native animistic ancestor worship” and although it narrated also Indian myths “all technical terms for wayang kulit equipment and performance techniques, save on (*tjempala*) are ancient Javanese and not derived from an Indian language” (Brandon and Guritno 1970: 3-4); (2) the Indian origin, mostly believed by Richard Pischel (1906), based on the facts “that the Javanese borrowed and assimilated so many other Indian cultural elements in the centuries following the birth of Christ. Most wayang characters originated in Indian epics” (Brandon and Guritno 1970: 3); and (3) the common Southeast Asia origin, hypothesizing that “a rudimentary shadow play was known to prehistoric peoples in central Asia and that it spread from there (...) accounting for the existence of shadow theatre in these areas” (idem: 4).

James Brandon also states that “the existence of shadow puppets in Java is first hinted at in two royal charters, establishing freeholds, inscribed on copper plates. The first, dated 840, mentions the names of six kinds of officials who were performers or who supervised musicians, clowns, and possibly wayang performers (...) The second, from 907, describes dances, epic recitations, and *mawajang*, a performance which may have been a shadow play” (idem: 2). According to the Javanese source *Serat Sestra Midura* (a chronicle written by a prince of Surakarta, Pangeran Koesoemadilaga in the mid-nineteenth century) the king Jayabaya of Mamenang (Kediri) in 939 wanted to depict his ancestors on palm leaf *lontar*, thus paving the way for the wayang tradition. These paintings will then be accompanied by stories, Kawi (Old Javanese) poems and gamelan music (Di Bernardi and Luijdjens 1985: 61; Lis 2014: 507). “Wayang is mentioned several times in the copious and elegant court literature written between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries at various kingdoms in east Java” and it is from around the eleventh century in the east

Javanese courts that the first written accounts of *wayang kulit* seem to date, “the basic technique of one man telling a story while manipulating puppets before a screen has been set” (Brandon 1970: 2-4).

The same uncertainty about the origin and diffusion has been raised in recent years, causing conflicts in relation to claims of heritage ownership (Akagawa 2015: 79). In this case, there was a conflict over ownership between Indonesia and Malaysia which arose due to UNESCO recognition. Trinidad Rico calls it the question of transboundary cultural legitimacy (Rico 2016: 12-13). Existing cultural tensions escalated until Malaysia’s claim to own the heritage of batik, which is hotly disputed by neighbouring Indonesia. Malaysia and Indonesia had to sign an agreement to honour each other’s cultural heritage in 2007.

Another point of similarity between UNESCO and scholarly texts can be found in the *kraton*, or royal palaces, and rural areas distinction, where supposedly art developed. Categories and opposing concepts, such as *alus* (refined) and *kasar* (crude/popular) suggested by Clifford Geertz (1960), or *agung* (great) and *rakyat* (people) traditions proposed by Umar Kayam (1981), as well as small and great tradition (Koentjaraningrat 1985), were posed by scholars in order to interpret Javanese society and successively questioned by critical studies both more and less recent. “There is every reason to think *dalang* were performing *wayang kulit* both at court and in villages and that there was regular interchange between court and folk performers” (Brandon 1970: 4-5).

Finally, once again the contemporary situation of *wayang* is pictured as ruined. Here is a clear paradox of UNESCO programme: “the globalization of these phenomena is being employed to counteract that same globalization” (Nas 2002: 142), so that safeguarding policies are implemented to protect *wayang kulit* from globalizing processes and media, even though it is through the same globalization that *wayang* became heritage of humanity and had access to these policies.

“Artists respond to these expectations to remain popular. The *dalang*, the puppeteer at *wayang* performances, for example, was traditionally the sole master of the event, narrating, acting out all the roles and dispensing Javanese philosophical wisdom. Now the *dalang* often seems like the compere of a television variety show, introducing guest comedians and sexy singers.

Such trends are not new. But they have escalated since the end of New Order because of changes in government funding. A key factor has been the move towards privatisation of state media. The state television station TVRI, for example, has had to find new ways of financing its own production costs. In the past, TVRI stations used to encourage and stimulate regional performing arts by giving local groups the opportunity to broadcast on television. Now only those groups who can pay for the privilege get to appear on screen.” (Hatley 2005a).

Culture and Legislation in Indonesia

Understanding heritage as a process of “being in the world” (Harrison 2013: 207) might shed light on the various processes of wayang codification and transformation that, even in contradiction between one and others, have been put forward until the contemporary heritagization process. The UNESCO programme, efforts and actions, aimed at the recognition and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, can be considered the most recent. Hinduization and Islamization influenced wayang practices in general and in Java especially, providing new codes and introducing new morphologies, mostly imprinted by elites. Under the colonial administration, the Dutch ran a systematizing process for wayang: the task of the scholars was clear – to codify, restore, and invigorate court wayang by collecting texts and educating dalang in “correct practice” (Schechner 1993, 1990; Sears 1996). The arts patronage by the local rulers paved the way to textbooks as a model reference for producing wayang puppets in the nineteenth century (Penedo 2012). After Indonesian independence, the constitution of the Republic and the rise of the communist party (McVey 1986), the first president Sukarno aimed to keep the nationalist spirit firm and united. During Suharto’s regime called *Orde Baru* (New Order) attempts to “Indonesianize” wayang as mean of propaganda were put forward (Mulyono 1977). Finally with the implementation of democracy in 1998 until today, renewed processes of interpretation, presentation and preservation have been invested in Indonesian wayang.

The development of legislation regarding protection of cultural heritage in Indonesia is closely associated with political events (Fitri, Ahmad and Ratna 2017: 128). In order to discuss it historically it becomes helpful to use the four periodizations: 1) the Netherlands’ East Indies sovereignty; 2) Independence and the

Old Order; 3) the New Order; 4) the Reform Era until the present. These historical and political periods are not characterized by a clear division as temporal blocks, but have paths of continuity as post-colonialism or critical studies have pointed out.

1. The Dutch East Indies sovereignty is marked by the regulation of the *Monumenten Ordonnantie Staatsblad* 238 no. 19 year 1931. In colonial Indonesia, the Dutch defined the indigenous communities in terms of their own *adat*, or customary rule. The Batavian Society. "This simplification and classification reached its peak in the establishment between the years 1910 and 1955 of the 46 volumes of the *Adatrechtbundel* (the 'Adat Law Volumes')" (Antlov and Hellman 2005: 4; cfr. Otterspeer 1989: 242). Initially *adat* was emphasized to protect these communities, but in the late colonial period *adat* became a tool in the hands of conservative Dutch administrators to contrast the spread of Islam and nationalism, emphasizing the special character of separate regions in the archipelago (Legêne, Purwanto and Nordholt 2015: 20).
2. With the Independence, the Republic of Indonesia was established through the constitution (1945), in which there is clear reference to culture in article 32, and the foundational five principles or *pancasila*.²⁰ Indonesia's national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) reflects the government's recognition and acceptance of the cultural, ethnical, linguistic and religious diversity of Indonesia (Czermak et al 2003), and at the same time it reflects the government's effort to give form to a "chimerical national identity" (Malesevic 2011). According to John Pemberton, "the documentation and preservation of artifacts pertaining to "origins", "traditions", and "rituals" became a crucial project of the Indonesian nation-state. The slogan "Unity in Diversity" in the national discourse submerged ethnic difference, inequalities of power, and class relations in an image of harmony and social cohesion" (Pemberton 1994: 12). On the day of commemoration of independence on August 17, 1964, President Sukarno delivered a speech in which the principle of *Trisakti* (political sovereign, economic independence and personality in culture) was exposed.
3. The cultural engineering initiated with the formation of the nation state was

²⁰ The five principles are: 1) belief in the Almighty God, 2) a just and civilized humanity, 3) the unity of Indonesia; 4) citizens led by collective wisdom in representation, and 5) social equity for all the people in Indonesia.

reinforced during Suharto's regime from 1966 until 1998 called the New Order. During the 1970s, a huge inventory project *Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah* was launched by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Antlov and Hellman 2005: 5). During the same period, Suharto's wife Siti Hartinah conceived and founded the *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (TMII) Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park, in Jakarta. In the 1980s, local heritage societies emerged, such as the Bandung Society in 1987 and Jogja Heritage; the heritage boom reached its peak in the 1990s, with the 1995 cultural parade in Bandung. From the early 1990s, the Indonesian Government participated in international debates on how to protect the nation's intellectual and cultural properties, but didn't create any official section or position in the Department of Culture and Tourism specifically devoted to intangible cultural heritage. According to UNESCO's brochure *Working Toward a Convention*, an international meeting was held in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, where a new UNESCO video collection of the performing arts was launched under the title 'Traditional Dance, Theatre and Music of the World' (UNESCO). In the same year of 1992 the law no. 5 on Benda Cagar Budaya (Items of Cultural Property) was drafted.

4. The Reform Era covered the period after Suharto's fall in 1998. In 1999, the *Desa Wisata* (Tourism Village) programme was launched, followed by the foundation of the Indonesian Heritage Trust (BPPI) in 2003. In the international sphere, Indonesia quickly responded to the new concept of intangible cultural heritage. Indonesia's 2002 Copyright Law and the 2006 draft law known as *Law on Intellectual Property Protection and Use of Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions* overlap with the UNESCO Convention and the discourse of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) on culture and its protection (Kreps 2012). In 2010 law no. 11 *Cagar Budaya* on Cultural Property Conservation was enacted (Fitri, Ahmad, Ratna 2017), while there was not yet a specific law on intangible cultural heritage. According to article 12 of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, the State Parties are under obligation at the national level to draw up one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in their respective territories. In 2010, the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, along with UNESCO, published the *Practical Handbook for Inventory of Intangible*

Cultural Heritage of Indonesia. With the legal vacuum, the Handbook became the guideline source for the implementation of the inventory obligation in Indonesia (Dachlan 2015). Only in 2013 did the Indonesian government provide an annual Intangible Cultural Heritage application for all the provinces.²¹ The national inventory of *Warisan Budaya Tak Benda* (WBTB) – Intangible Cultural Heritage became a form of mandate by law no. 5, 2017 on *Pemajuan Kebudayaan* (Cultural Progress), which only passed after fifteen years of discussion in parliament.

Translating the elephant at home

In the international sphere, the UNESCO Representative List includes the following Indonesian cultures: wayang puppet theatre in 2003, kris in 2005, batik in 2009, angklung in 2010, Bali's dances in 2015 and the Pinisi art of boatbuilding in South Sulawesi in 2017. Meanwhile the saman dance (2011) and Papua-Indonesia's noken bag (2012) are included in the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding.

How to translate intangible cultural heritage in Indonesian?

“That was debated for very long time. I remember once we had a big meeting in the departmental government and everyone was lodged in a hotel and for half of a day we just debated only one word. Finally after a huge discussion, which also involved the language centre of the government which is in charge of the development of the Indonesian language, it was agreed that the best translation alternative is *takbenda*: *benda* means a material object; *tak* or *tidak* means not. Since then, on 2006, this is the standard word to be used. Other people preferred *non-bendawi* or *tak kasak materi*, but the resulting one is *tak benda* for intangible; tangible is *benda*, meaning object”.²²

On October 2002 a meeting on intangible cultural heritage “Seminar Warisan Budaya Takbenda” organized by the Indonesian National Commission for UNESCO (KNIU)²³

²¹ The official website registered 8920 “cultural works” from 2010 until 2018

<https://warisanbudaya.kemdikbud.go.id/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

In this regard, Chapter VII of this thesis reports the interview with Dian Permata Suri in order to elucidate how national intangible heritage application works.

²² Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati interview, in Appendices n.5.

²³ The Indonesian National Commission for UNESCO (KNIU) was established in 1952. The Commission is a non-structural governmental body, attached to the Ministry of Education and Culture. The members of the Commission represent the Government, NGOs, and individuals. Composed of 24 members, representing the relevant Ministries (National Education, Research and Technology, Culture and Tourism, Communication and Information, Culture and Tourism, Health, Ocean and Fishery, etc.), national institutes, universities, NGOs and the business sector. The General Assembly meets every

and Community and Cultural Research Center – Universitas Indonesia was held in Jakarta. As the editor of the resulting book *Warisan budaya takbenda: masalahnya kini di Indonesia* (2003), Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati addressed the fact that cultural preservation programmes paid greater attention to tangible culture, concrete object which can be touched, such as temples and buildings, meaningful as evidence of cultural development – Borobudur and Prambanan Temple Compounds in Central Java were registered on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1991. As seen previously, in fact, in its history UNESCO has favoured tangible heritage and despite the extension of the concept of heritage “the distinction between intangible and tangible heritage continues a ‘Western’ world view, or ontology, which emphasizes a duality between nature and culture” (Harrison and Rose 2010: 247), as underlined by much of the critical literature on UNESCO policies.

The Indonesian *pusaka* is a holistic, all-inclusive concept of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible (Soebadio 1992). *Pusaka* are objects and expression forms inherited, protected and transmitted through generations due to the fact that they are invested with special meanings and values. *Pusaka* indeed are not so innate in themselves, but rather are socially and culturally constructed depending on specific contexts and practices. Then *pusaka* can be thought of in terms of social construct and relationships, both among people and what surrounds them, objects and expressive cultural forms included, which also contribute to shape. Regarding *wayang* in particular, described as *adiluhung* (rich in philosophical values) and *edipeni* (of great beauty), its transmissions often move through the *dalang*’s genealogy. Some associate *pusaka* with spirits or energies, seeming to inhabit objects, human beings, artefacts and sites, especially natural sites and graves. Then reverence and commitments are encouraged towards ritual practices. The Indonesian *pusaka* is even a means of protection, which might endorse the idea that “communities have always had ways to protect their own practices” (Taylor 2008: 101).

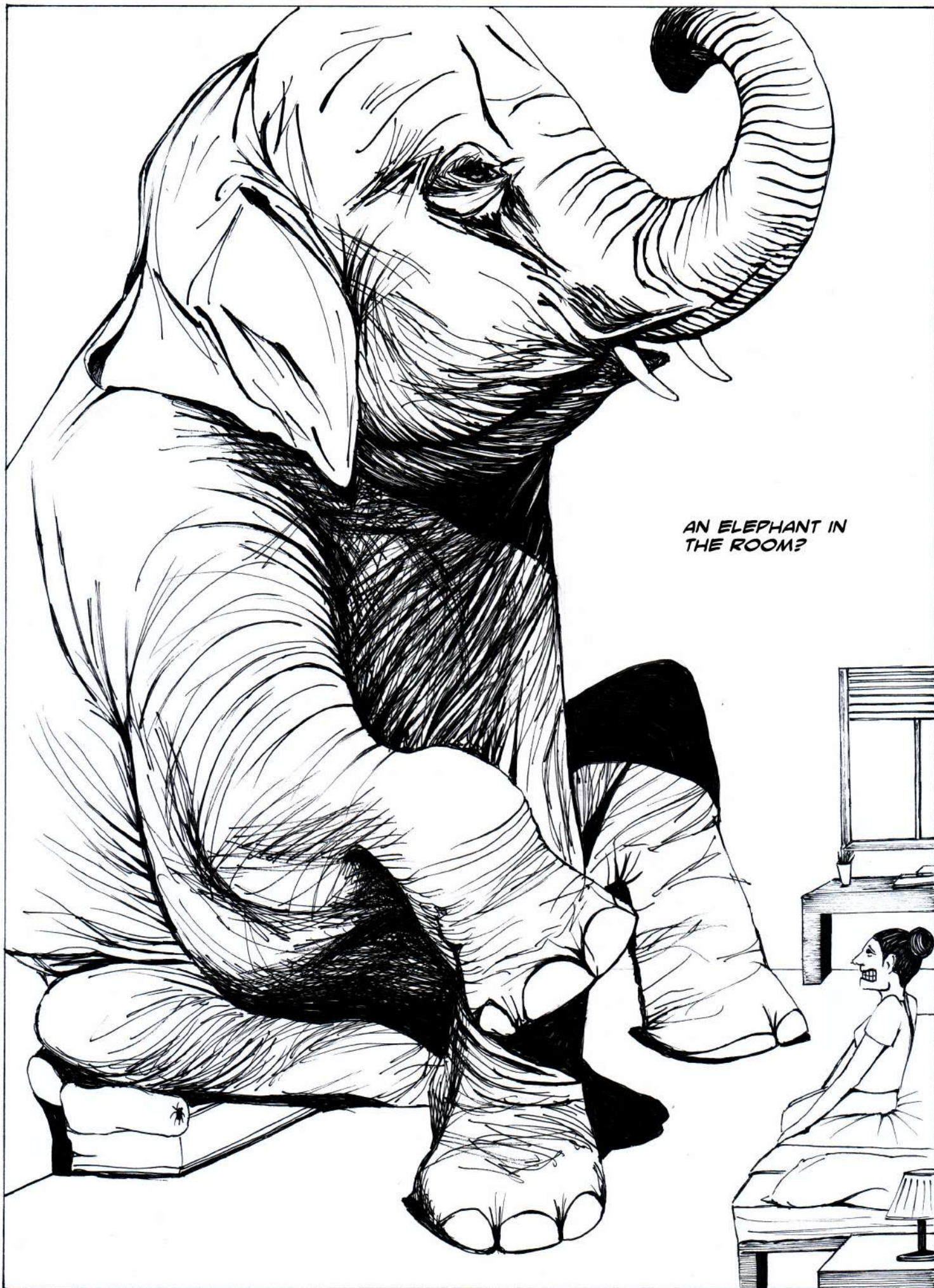
Some people feel that the intangible cultural heritage has been going on for centuries on its own accord, so what is the need for legal measures? (Mancacaritadipura 2007).

Even more, since models or methods of cultural heritage preservation and transmission – films, recordings, texts, and so forth – are proposed and in a certain form imposed to fit the Convention's criteria and definitions, some fear it will objectify and fossilize intangible cultural expressions. Effectively, approaches to cultural heritage protection and curatorial traditions may be seen as appropriate in one setting and not in another. "Indigenous curatorial practices" – shorthand for non-Western models of museums, curatorial methods, and concepts of cultural heritage preservation – should be recognized and valued in their own right as unique cultural expressions and as evidence of human cultural diversity" (Kreps 2005).

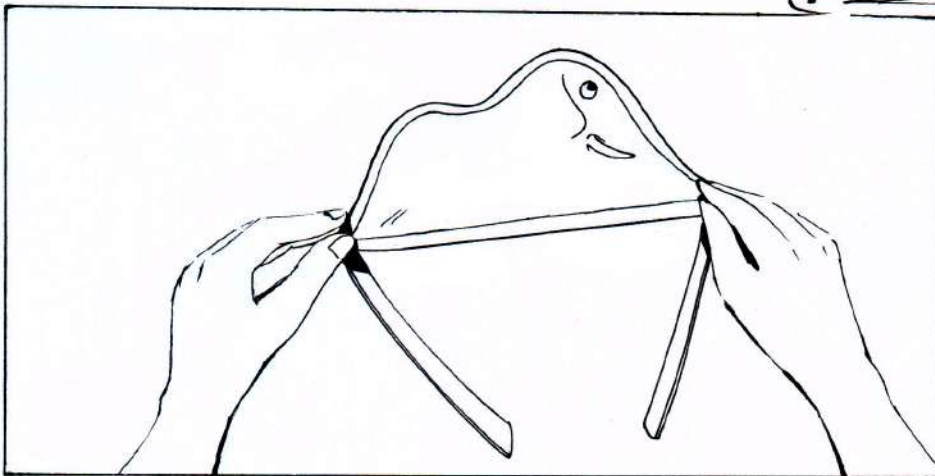
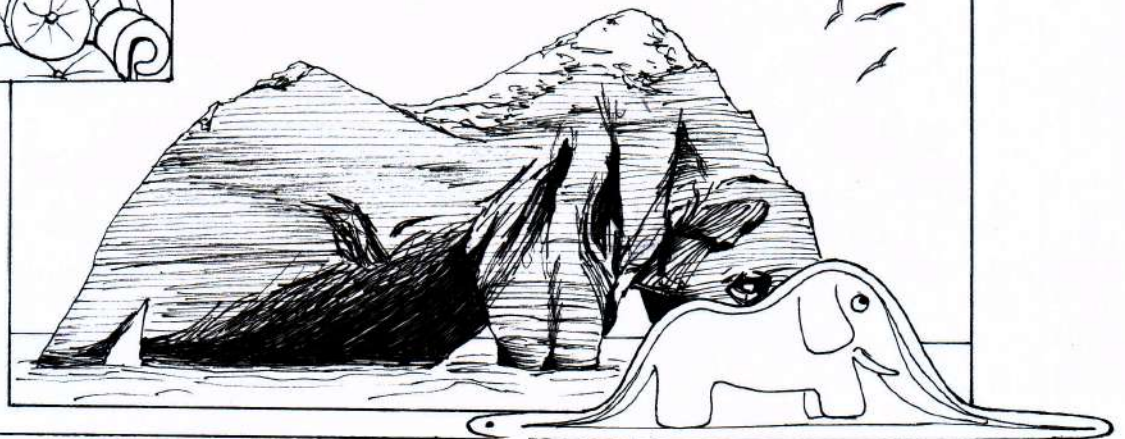
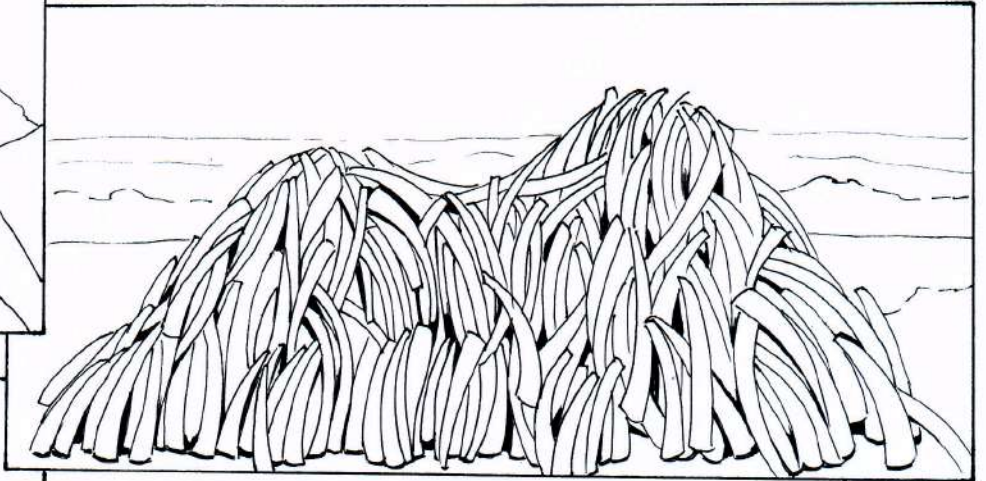
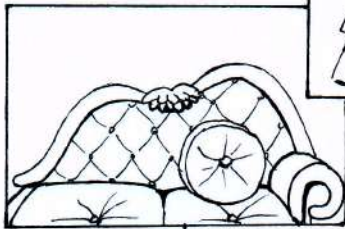
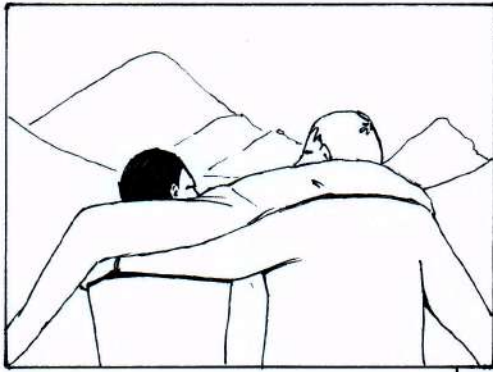
UNESCO recognition of ICH can eventually be used to increase awareness and appreciation, to encourage measures of protection, to promote the participation in identifying and revitalizing Intangible Cultural Heritage (Seeger 2009: 114), at various levels – individual, collective, local, national and international. Primarily motivated by economic development interests, the conceptualization of culture seems counter to the local understanding of culture as moving through generations, ancestors and spirits. The same goes for the conceptualization of cultural propriety, as in Indonesian authors' perspective, individuals are not just creators, but rather conduits of an ancestral, communal tradition, so that the imposition of ownership and protection could collide with the responsibility to share and promote their work. The aim to preserve and protect the right of individual artists and traditional cultural communities, nevertheless, encounters some paradoxes that can be summarized by the phrase "legal protection does not equal preservation" (Aragon and Leach 2008).

The new challenge, raised by the UNESCO Convention, resides more in the modalities for entering into an equal dialogue among various intangible cultural heritages as well participants, at international, national and local levels. Effort has been made to move forward this dialogue, in which anthropologists and other specialists have had a voice, and in which the latter act as intermediaries and confer about heritage and heritage processes. Anyway, like "the historian is often asked to participate in this process [of reification of the past], in the quality of 'p' and 'expert' who, according to Olivier Dumoulin, makes his art a 'commercial product' in the same way as the consumer goods which invade our societies" (Traverso 2005: 11 *my translation from French*).



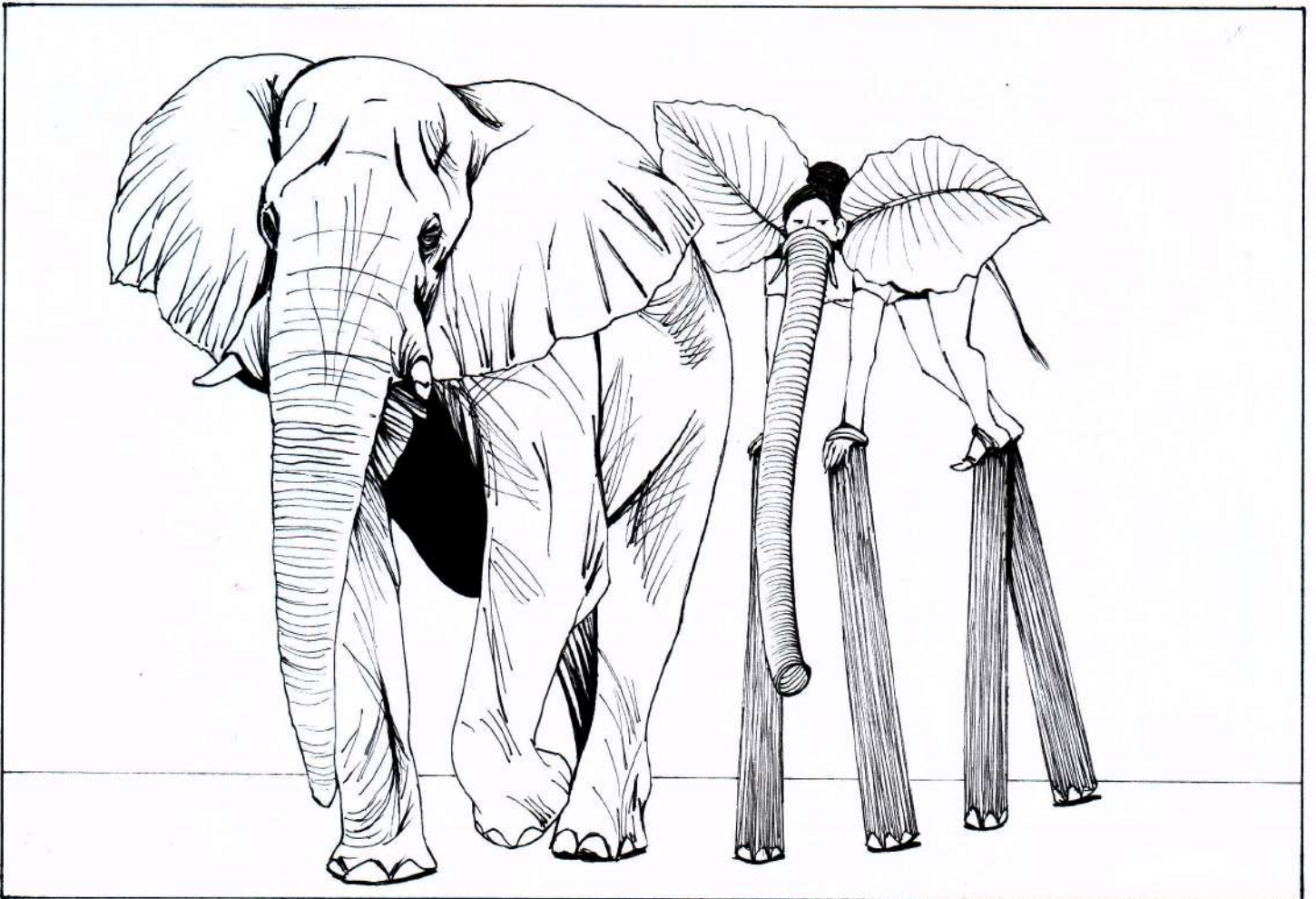


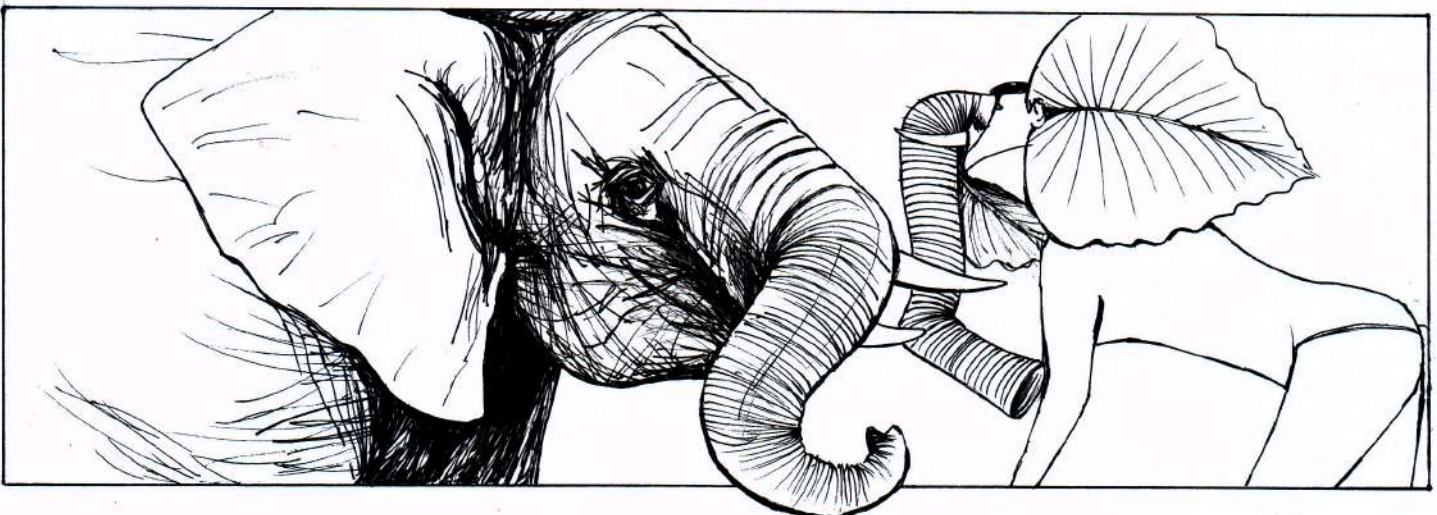
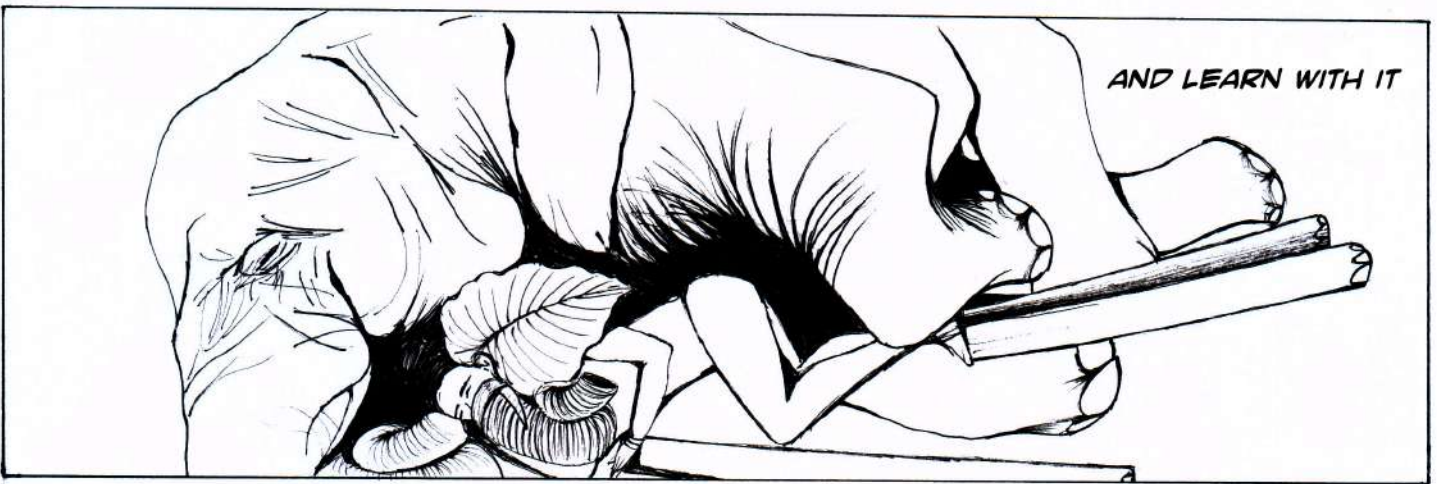
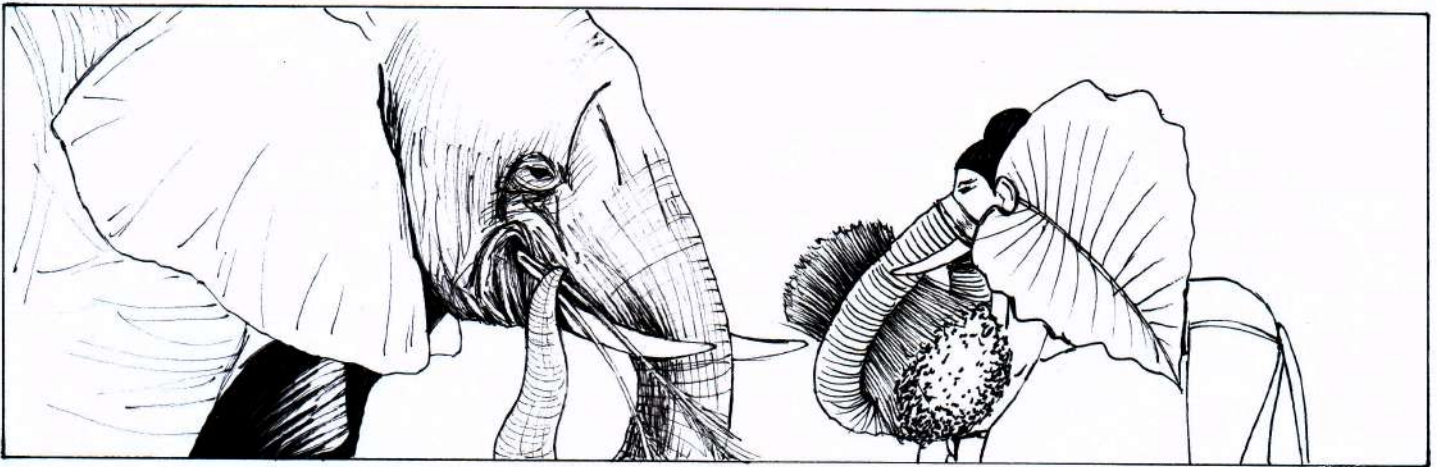
AN ELEPHANT IN
THE ROOM?

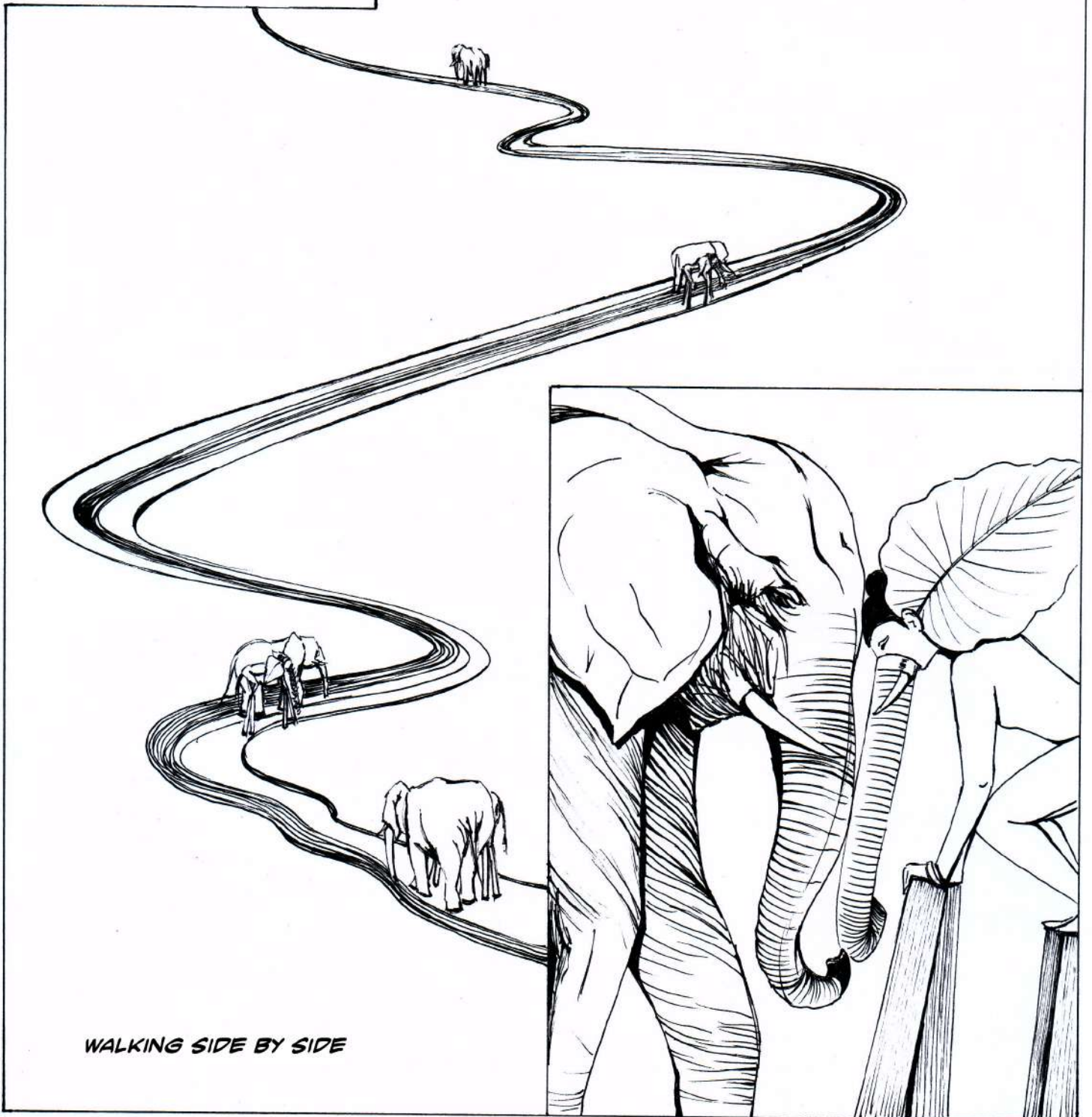
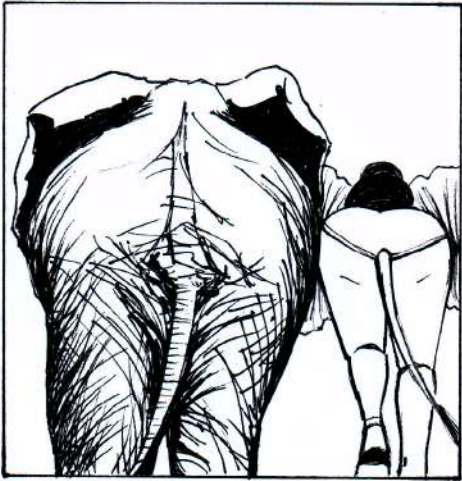


**SEE BEYOND
THE FRAME**

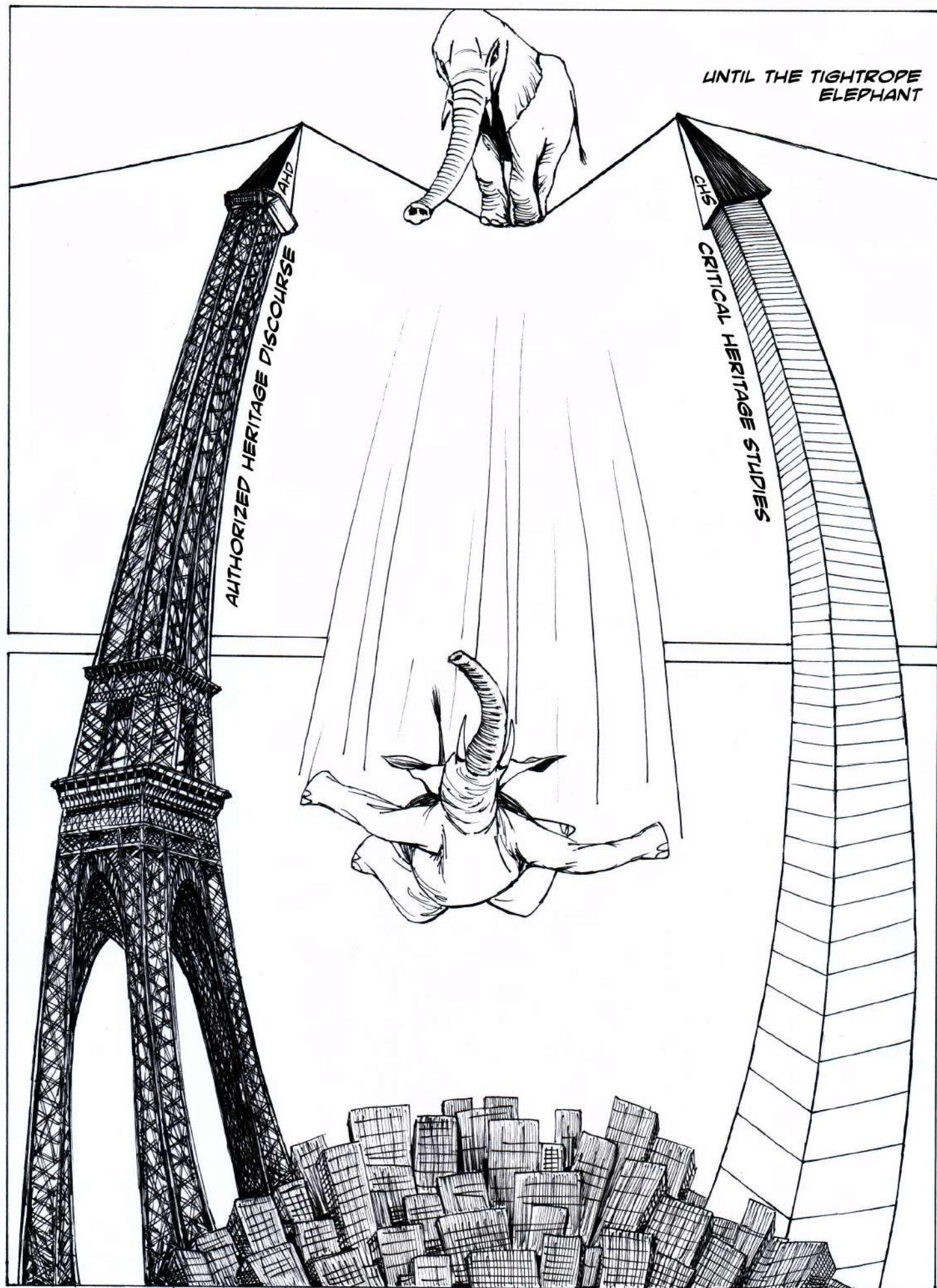








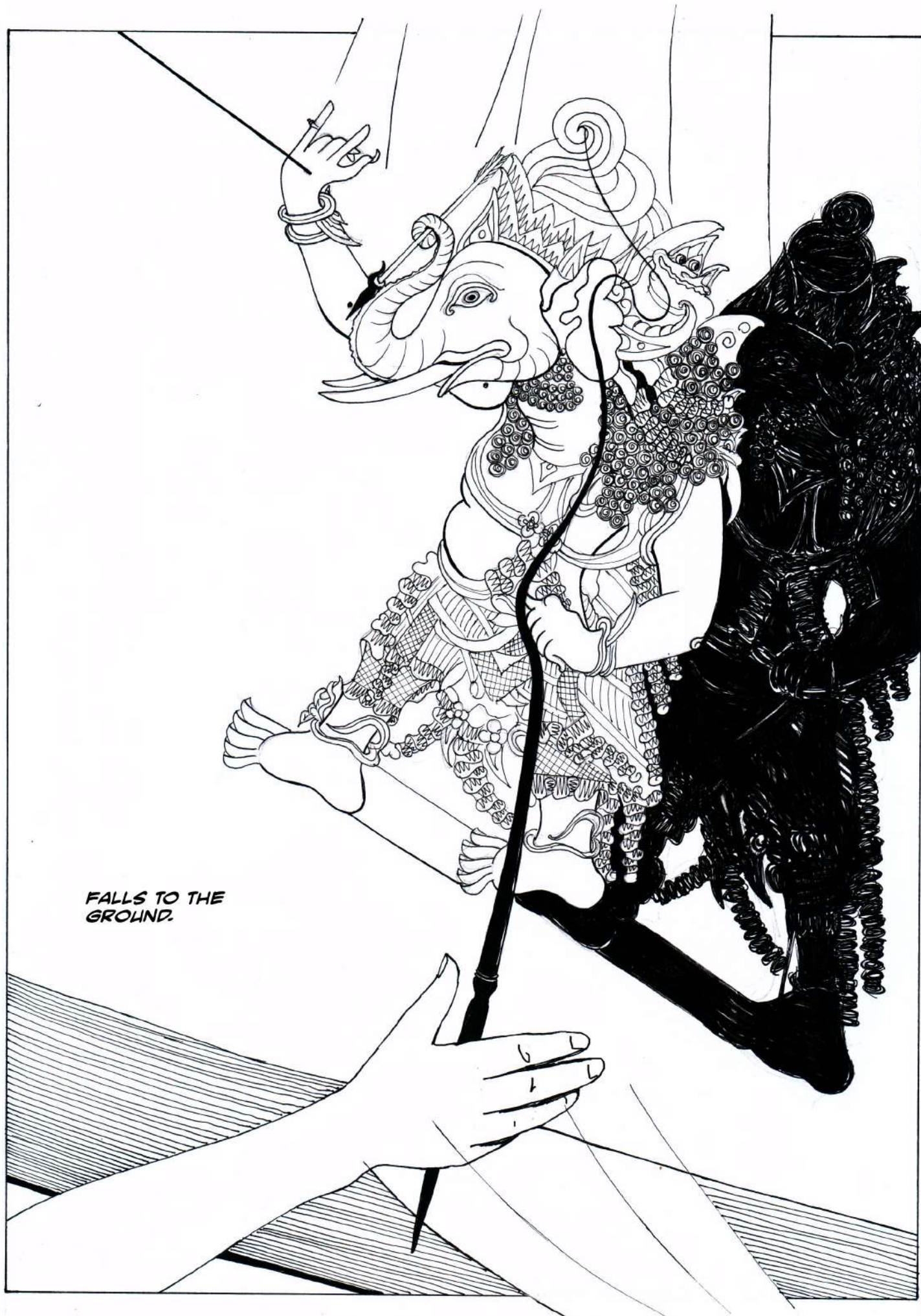
WALKING SIDE BY SIDE



UNTIL THE TIGHTROPE
ELEPHANT

AHD
AUTHORIZED HERITAGE DISCOURSE

CHS
CRITICAL HERITAGE STUDIES



What is next to the elephant?

UNESCO programmes on heritage might represent ideals coming from a vision of solidarity of nations working together, after the tragedies of the two world wars. Through international operations and global action, the UNESCO project was to bring people together and make a harmony that goes across borders. However it coevolved with a dysfunctional system, in which imbalances are repeated and reaffirmed. Processes of capitalization, essentialization and nationalization are at play. Competition, if not conflicts, may also exacerbate it. Then heritage is imbued with reconfiguration of relations, part of everyday life, but also self-sufficient meta-discourse; both an emancipation tool and a yoke, it is at risk of alienation from its socio-cultural context, if taken as an instrument of legitimation of the state and touristic promotion.

The interpretation of heritage is also often in contrast with contemporary society, of which it is seen as both fruit and victim. According to Kenneth Robert Olwig, “we tend to interpret our heritage in terms of an opposition between a natural, stable, harmonious and unchanging traditional society and a modern society which brings flux and disharmony, also to nature (...) Traditional society is always seen to be running out of time,²⁴ and on the verge of extinction” (Olwig 2001: 341). Together with the same differentiation of intangible and tangible heritage, it seems to redirect attention to other dualisms “that hold nature and culture, and mind and matter, to be separate” (Harrison 2013: 206).

The same modes of conception and action are found in society, in the family, in relationships, even within the parts of the ego. They do not resemble each other in the structure, but in the way they relate. The chain can, however, be broken. Is it possible to distinguish between those “who produce cultural assets” and “the humanity to which those assets come to belong” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 162)? Is it possible to delimit a community?

“Participation and responsibility define the nature of a set. (...) The participation that you ask me is an upstream or downstream participation? Can I decide the rules or can I just respect them? Can I discuss the goals or can I just leave if I do not share them? Does the system that regulates our being together allow me to contribute to

²⁴ In a passage of the text, the author talks about “timeless natural utopias” (Olwig 2001: 342).

changing the dynamics of the group? If the answer to these questions is no, the asset of which we are part is not a community, but a way of managing hierarchical power, which creates sets only to be able to control them" (Murgia 2019, *my translation from Italian*).

To be able to stay together, one must be able to stand on one's own. According to David Lowenthal, "heritage, far from being fatally predetermined or Godgiven, is in large measure our own marvelously malleable creation" (Lowenthal 1998: 226). Heritage formation paradoxes and criticisms are exposed together with the awareness that even critical approaches feed this reality since discourse and thinking do indeed shape and participate in reality in a kind of a vicious circle. Thus, how should this be done?

Just as I was working to untangle the knots of this reflection, Giorgio Agamben's *Creation and Anarchy* (2017) took up the argument of Guy Debord in *La société du spectacle* (1967), according to which capitalism is an immense accumulation of images, in which everything that was used and lived moves away in a representation. Giorgio Agamben added that just as money itself becomes a commodity by means of exchange, then an object of exchange, so the tool of language, which makes things communicable, becomes the communicated, dissociated by things, the ephemeral triumph of the nothingness of things.

Heritage and its discursiveness as a language and a narrative is a huge business and, like any business, it is subject to the same advertising campaigns as any other product. Heritage formation, agency, community, safeguarding and so on are concepts on which academics and institutions of many study subjects are at odds, especially in anthropology, and I wondered about their actual weight in people's lives. Those concepts seemed to me far from people's real life and probably only useful for the few involved in heritage politics, discourses and texts. The concept of heritage in particular cannot respond or correspond to any practice. Practices simply do not fit neatly into the conceptual boxes constructed. "Can a permanent, indoor, quiet, nine to eleven urban theatre ever mean the same thing as the theatre I have been writing about? I don't think it can: it can only be an extension of the day, reflecting rational daytime concerns and sunshine magic" (Becker L. A. 1974 in Schechner 1990). Paradoxes are implied. Paradoxes are part of life, I might

say.

“Anthropologists explain and reduce everything to history” – Novy, a young Indonesian musician and student in ethnomusicology I met in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, told me. Initially I had not grasped the reasons for this critical note, as it seemed to me precisely the most logical approach. “Interpretive turn” to explain or understand became a question of contextualizing events and behaviour in a specific history and semantic universe. “The tendency to treat culture as representations and not as experiences threatens to transform Javanese lives from life to theatre” (Antlov and Hellman 2005: 8), as a cultural construction. Suddenly, I feel like I am in *Kitchen stories*, a movie by Bent Hamer (2003), exaggerating a little. How the real-life Javanese in fact face and handle the complex challenges of leading a life, how the Javanese actually engage cultural meaning in interpersonal relations and attempt to adapt to demanding life conditions (Antlov and Hellman 2005: 8-9) should be questioned.

Only one year later, I understood that much attention is paid to time and space, past and future, the use of the past for the future everywhere. Conceptualizations in procedural terms are increasingly emerging and affirming. Process and temporality are increasingly called into question, obviously also in regard to heritage. The time: past, present and future everywhere, simultaneously and multiform. The tendency is to “trap” a dynamic world in mostly linear time-space. Historical or intimate memory in the way it is used, but it does not seem to work so much to collectively orient us, if it does not go through an individual experience and awareness. The tendency is also often to look at the historical process up to where it is convenient.

Again Giorgio Agamben with *Il mistero del male: Benedetto XVI e la fine dei tempi* (2013) provides greater clarity. Taking into consideration the philosophy of history, which he maintains is profoundly Christian, an eschatological dimension is associated with Time. But it is to be intended not as the end of time, but *the time of the end*, the internal transformation of time in which the mystery revealed itself. The mystery to which he refers is the *mysterium iniquitatis*, a historical drama (*mysterion* in Greek means “dramatic act”), that “is going on so to speak in every instant and in which the fate of humanity is incessantly played out, the salvation or ruin of men (...)

something that must guide *here and now* the behavior of every Christian” (Agamben 2013: 16). The *mysterion* then indicates a praxis, an action, or a drama in the theatrical sense of the term. The *mysterion* is then said and manifested, and in the time of the end identifies with history without residue. Time, Giorgio Agamben says, according to Christianity is made up of a retarding element and a decisive element, a block and an extension of the story. He finds there are two elements in the Church that are irreconcilable and yet closely intertwined: economy and eschatology. One is the mundane-temporal element and the other ended up stuck in the end of time and the world, rather than the *time of the end* (idem: 17).

This analysis, Giorgio Agamben argues, can be extended to every profane institution, since the Church has provided a model for the modern state to completely take charge of humanity (idem: 13). This analysis has continued to tarnish the conception of time that somehow I took for granted. It continued because the conception, almost without realizing it, had already been tarnished by the practice of fieldwork, but probably needed more blows. Readings helped me transform some perceptions into words and thoughts. These readings come from Eastern philosophy, especially Buddhism, but also from physics. The physicist Carlo Rovelli, in a divulgative book titled *L'ordine del tempo* (2017), reveals his surprise at how he found associations with the Nagaraja text.

I understood that a construct, a system like that of heritage is closely linked to conceptions of the world – like those of the time – that we take for granted and that we try to make as coherent as possible, but it cannot be so for everyone. We can try to match our grammar to the whole or return to the mystery, to what is all manifest. Perhaps the Christian *mysterion* is not so far from the Zen *hengai fuzozo* “in the world there is nothing hidden”, the truth of life is manifested in every place and in all things, as they are. I began to understand the words of the young man I met or at least some of my convictions began to fail.

How can this be a heritage of humanity and the other not? There is no internal criteria by which you could tell the difference. Why did it have to happen now? – questioned the philosopher Arthur Danto reasoning on art history. The difference is momentous – he said – that is where philosophy begins, searching for a

piece of thought for the object one is writing about (Danto 1997). Maybe that is not even the right question, in this case.

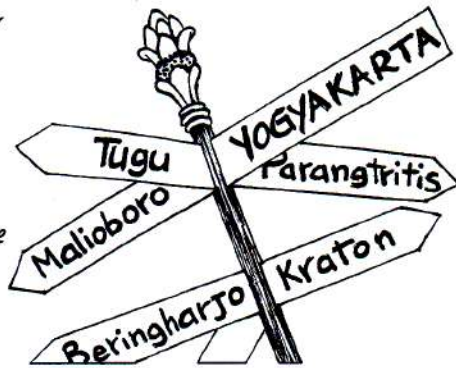
3.

*Jogja Istimewa*¹

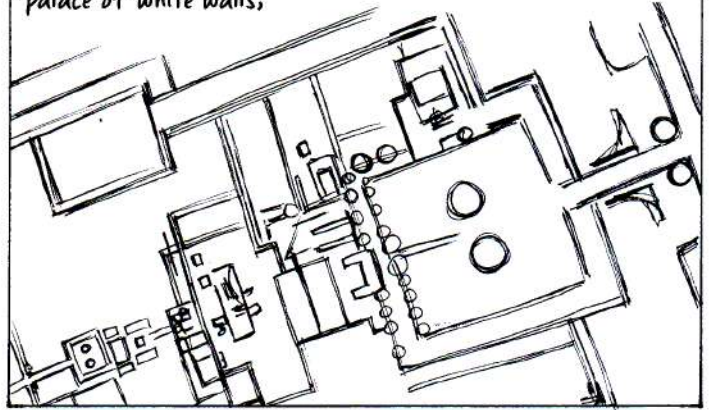
Moving through and shaping the Special Region of Yogyakarta

¹ The difference of orthography between Jogjakarta, abbreviated Jogja, and Yogyakarta is due the reforms introduced by 1972 Perfected Spelling System (see notes on orthography at the beginning of this work). In this case I purposely use the old form in the expression *Jogja Istimewa*, meaning Yogyakarta is Special, to recall logos and slogans in use as well as the song “Jogja Istimewa” by the Jogja Hip Hop Foundation JHF group (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F18vJTtX_Ns), which has become very popular among the inhabitants of the region (Escobar 2014a: 485).

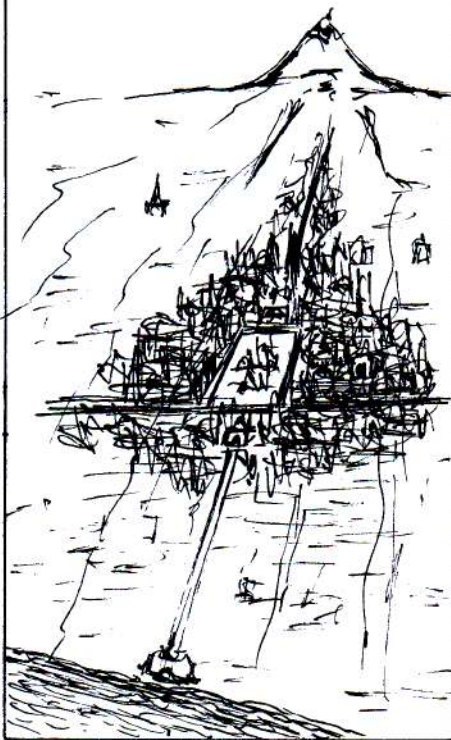
In vain is the attempt — Marco Polo says to the emperor Kublai Khan — to describe Zaira, one of the cities visited on his expeditions (Calvino 1972: 10); the same seems to be true for me for the city of Yogyakarta and its rambling neighbourhoods, the nearby villages and paddy fields and the nature all around.



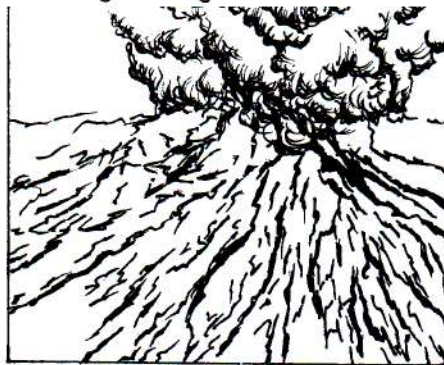
Of Yogyakarta could be told of the kraton, the sultan's palace of white walls,



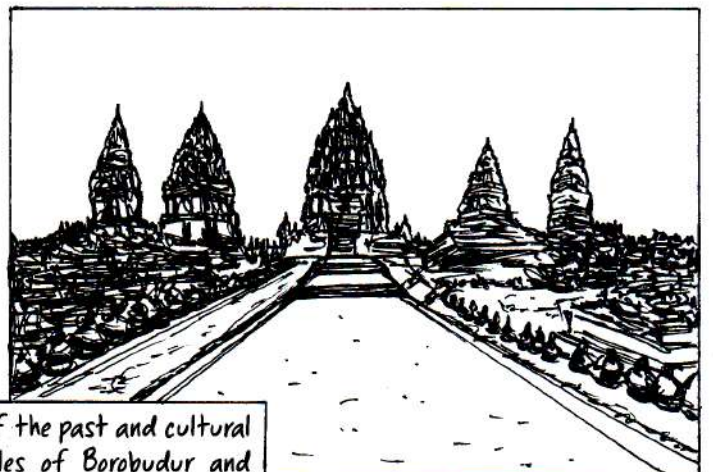
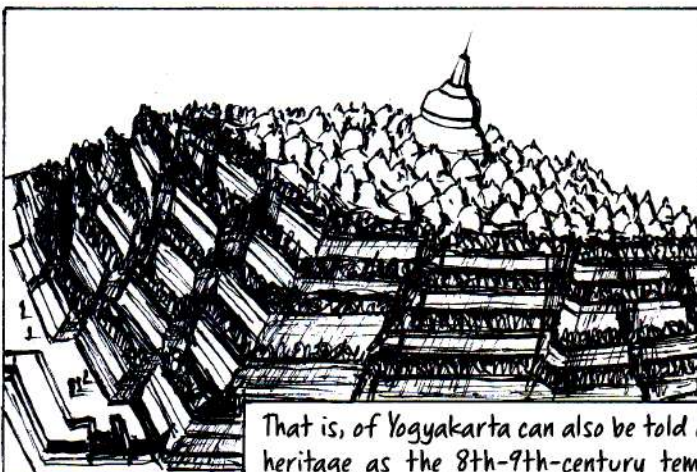
wisely and mystically erected between parallel rivers, halfway between the Merapi Vulcan and the Indian Ocean.



Along an axis of strong living energies, the sultanate is protected by warding actions that will anger the spirits of the volcano and by renewing the spiritual marriage with Nyai Roro Kidul, the Queen of the Southern Sea.



The marriage first took place with Senopati, the founder of the 16th-century Mataram Sultanate, whose Javanese Islamic legacies are found in the palace ceremonies.



That is, of Yogyakarta can also be told of the past and cultural heritage as the 8th-9th-century temples of Borobudur and Prambanan,

staging Buddhist and Hindu ceremonies.



Of Yogyakarta should be listed the wares that can profitably be bought here: batik, T-shirts,



spices and tobaccos,



all sorts of tourist merchandise, even low-price wayang kulit,

foods and more sold along the busy pavements of Jalan Malioboro, the bustling main street lined by Dutch-style houses,



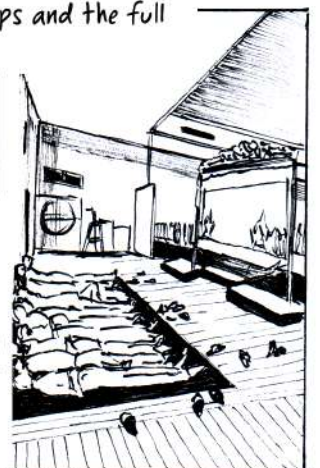
and in the adjacent market of Beringharjo.



Of Yogyakarta might be said that it is the Art Mecca of Java (Poshyananda 2000), an inspiring place for many artists coming, going and staying,



where the court dances, the batik workshops and the full night wayang kulit occur.



Of Yogyakarta could be said that it is a city of high education.



Universities are scattered around, among which stands out the University of Gadjah Mada UGM as one of the most prestigious in Indonesia.



Of Yogyakarta can be remembered its pivotal political role: centre of the nationalist movement in the 1940s, temporarily hosting the president of the newly proclaimed republic;



stage of political rallies and student demonstrations against the Suharto regime in 1997-1998.

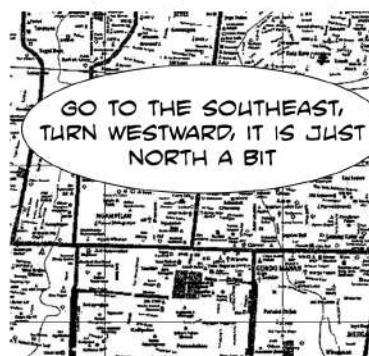


Of Yogyakarta may be told of its rapid transformation, embracing the forces of modernization and globalization, the deafening traffic and the increasing tourism.



However, these notions do not say much about how Yogyakarta is today, how it contains the relations between its spaces and the occurrences, all the memories and desires. The city does not say everything, nor does its description. As in the *The Invisible Cities* by Italo Calvino (1972), realism and fantasy coexist in a transfigured reality, in a story or drawing that escapes fixation, and deterioration too. What I can say is how I got to Yogyakarta: "I arrived by train an early morning of July and walking under the weight of my backpack, many people all around were searching for their ways too.

In my rusty Indonesian I asked for information to get to the hostel, pointing to it on a map.



The cardinal directions disoriented me as the cartography nonplussed the man. I jumped on a becak (rickshaw) and let the driver take me there. With time, I became aware that it was just one of the many ways opening to me that morning. Yogyakarta gradually turned out to be a whole where even place and reconciliation could be found. It became clear that there is no map to live the city, or any other place, if not tracing your own itinerary.

Pathways, movements and narratives

Empirical research by observant participation, performing with people's everyday life as exposed in the first chapter, at the same time requires a trained awareness of not falling in love with the experience itself and the unease, as in a certain form of "Orientalism" (if the expression is still in use), of fascination and auto-celebration. From another perspective, pointed out in the second chapter, the danger of remaining trapped in concepts of a Java that never was, idealizing it, is at stake too. In order to move between practical experience and theoretical concepts, it seems right to introduce and develop the place within which everyday activities take place. The everyday level of life has significant implications for the larger relations in which they are entangled, and place is not simply physical, but social, invested with conceptual and symbolic notions, meanings, feelings and people's interactions.

This chapter aims to enrich the debate on heritage by retracing some paths of the cultural mapping of place attached to significance as imprinted with life stories, histories, people and things related to wayang. By no means exhaustive, aware that they are inevitably only some paths, it proposes to delineate the relationship between wayang and place as culturally meaningful. Exploration of organization of places by human activities and practices is necessary for understanding the world people are shaping.

The term 'place' needs to be clarified. The concepts of place and space together have animated debate in archaeology, geography and anthropology. A dichotomizing perspective of space/place dualism prevailed, which seeks to claim the primacy of one over the other with no solution (Casey 1996). Attempts of resolution have given way, for example, to a continuum from generalized space to particularistic place (Agnew 2011: 324) or to a tripartite division into absolute, relative and relational space (Harvey 2006). A phenomenological approach through the notion of a non-geometric but lived human spatiality, constitutive of the relationship with the world (Merleau-Ponty 1962; 1964), leads to a phenomenology of place in geography (Relph 1976) and a phenomenology of landscape in archaeology (Tilley 1994), which blended with anthropology. Analytical and theoretical work on places has proliferated in anthropology as across the disciplines.

From an anthropological perspective, people socially make places; identity construction, human agency and place-making had a fair period of success in academia. Conceptions of taken-for-granted settings were criticized; nevertheless the risk of reduction in imprisoning inhabitants in a confined place is often lurking. The so conceived fixed materiality of the environment is destabilized by the mobility and displacement of bodies across it. Said in other words, the assumptions of people and fixity of places are moreover undermined by migratory flows, which disrupt traditional borders and polities, and lead to deterritorialization and the demand for global restructuring. In the discussion, the concept of *embodiment* was introduced. According to Thomas Csordas, by embodiment is to be considered “the perceptual experience and mode of presence and engagement in the world” (Csordas 1994: 12). Embodied space is the location where human experience and consciousness takes on material and spatial form (Csordas 1988). It is through embodied space that the global is integrated into the inscribed spaces of everyday life where attachment, emotion and morality come into play. The embodied space is made up of the daily trajectories of people. It is through everyday experiences and practices that people make place (Bourdieu 1996; Ingold, 2000). Not only do we create spaces but spaces also create us (Low, Taplin and Scheld, 2005). This mutual process is an important part of our self-shaping; we are places, some chosen whereas some others are not accessible to us.

Within the embodied space in anthropological approaches is proxemics, introduced by the American anthropologist Edward Twitchell Hall (1968). The English word proxemics, a derivative of proximity, indicates the study of human space and interpersonal distance. Proxemics investigates the meaning and the value that is assumed by the distance human beings interpose with others, objects included. More generally, it investigates how personal space is culturally defined; how culturally or historically different groups stand in space and organize it; and how people behave and react in different types of space. These and other developments, such as on body language and the study of *kinesics* so coined by Ray Birdwhistell, opened to the anthropological debate of space. Gaining awareness of the modalities to move and interact in a cultural space, individual and collective, are of fundamental importance for an anthropologist. In this regard, Alessandro Duranti

(1992; 1997) emphasizes the importance of language through his empirical investigation and reinterprets embodied space within an inter-penetration of language, spatial orientation and body movement. In the words of Thomas Csordas, “language is a modality of being-in-the-world, such that language not only represents or refers, but discloses our being-in-the-world” (Csordas 1994: 11).

The way to express ourselves, by words, body or whatever, change together with our way of being in the world and it occurs both individually and interactively, in society. According to Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003), in a summary review of Pierre Bourdieu’s works, “because social practice activates spatial meanings, they are not fixed in space, but are invoked by actors, men and women, who bring their own discursive knowledge and strategic intentions to the interpretation of spatial meanings” (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 10). Expressions, meanings and spaces thus develop together. In order to understand space, Tim Ingold (2000) argues the necessity of moving through it. His emphasis on practice moves toward a more sensory perception of space. Meanwhile the case studies edited by Allan Charles Dawson, Laura Zanotti and Ismael Vaccaro (2014) place emphasis on the concept of territoriality: a social construction of land tenure, control, and identity that invests space with contrasting notions of legitimacy. From environmental anthropology, Nora Haenn and Richard Wilk (2006) provide an anthology of articles covering the earliest theoretical foundations in cultural ecology to the most recent developments in indigenous initiatives, environmental management, and consumption.

Moving through this conceptual landscape punctuated by the just-reviewed conceptions of place-making and lived space; embodiment and body movements; discursive being-in-the-world and legitimation; I use the terms of pathways, movements and narratives in relation to wayang, in order to describe its places in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Wayang practices play a part in the shaping of Yogyakarta and Yogyakarta also shapes wayang practices. Through wayang, paths are opened, stories are told, people enter into relations, objects are moved and placed, all of which contribute to the lived sociocultural modelling of places. For example, most interactions inside a house occur among people who are sitting on the floor or on carpets lying on the floor, while speech modalities in people’s

interactions operate according to social status, age and degree of intimacy (Moedjanto 1993: 55). Wayang performances provide interesting examples of that, as clearly indicated by Benedict Anderson (1990) referring to it as sign of power, interconnected to Javanese etiquette that distinguish being *halus* as self-control, beauty and elegance, politeness and sensitivity.

Solidarity and harmony are often vaunted as founding and uniting communities, to the dimension of village, religious community or even those rotating around wayang. Those same values, in the past as now, are reused as a lever for actions for various purposes (cultural, political, economic, touristic, religious) and by various actors, among which government and Islam above all have a primary and hitherto authoritarian/imposing role. Values shape and affect places and ways of living, and are indicative of an imaginary design for the future. Through the paths of people, objects and stories across places, the journey into knowledge, elaboration and representation of values is possible, as the incursion to grab or assert authority, to keep control and to increase influence is possible as well.

People are increasingly moving physically or through a net of relations across borders. Yogyakarta is not out of it; it is indeed challenging to question and open up how the interactions between diverse individuals, groups and organizations evolve and shape the wayang kulit world for international appreciation and local tasks. Wayang kulit is performed in the court and in rural areas, and in museums for tourist promotions; it is used for business and political purposes; its aesthetic is borrowed by visual artists; while its knowledge is transmitted by family and governmental initiatives, namely through graduate programmes and also informal learning. Contemporary globalization and consumption, updated government rhetoric, religious orthodoxy, modern education and changing economy, affected the urban transition of Yogyakarta, being very dynamic and creative. Cultural realities and policies aim for a dynamic and creative region, especially in regard to culture, education and tourism.

Yogyakarta is known for being a centre of classical or traditional Javanese art and culture, and at the same time it is a dynamic city of young people and new ideas. The hundreds of universities and institutions located in Yogyakarta attract students from all of the 26 provinces of the Indonesian archipelago, in order to pursue a

higher education. Since Gadjah Mada University, the first university of Indonesia, was accommodated in 1946 in part of the sultan's palace, Yogyakarta has gradually acquired a position as a centre of learning in Indonesia. The young population as well as the modern facilities across the town grows annually. Every year Yogyakarta receives thousands of visitors, the budget backpackers to five-star hotel clientele. Since the early 1980s, under the impetus of state policies, tourism especially from Japan, Europe and Jakarta has grown exponentially. A large mass of tourists also passes through the reconstructed archaeological remains of Borobudur and Prambanan and other temples nearby. Yogyakarta is often touted as Indonesia's second main destination for Indonesian and foreign tourism after Bali, due to the historical and cultural heritage of the region. Besides the tourists, many foreigners, especially students, researchers and artists, reside there for longer periods of time, making Yogyakarta their temporary home. All of these factors contribute to the cosmopolitan nature and vitality of the city, making it a combination of Javanese traditions and different cultures, as well as directly or indirectly employing a considerable local workforce.

Yogyakarta and Indonesia in general are said to be facing a "transitional" and "multidimensional" phase. The undergoing transitional phenomenon or "liminality" (Turner 1967) is the interplay at the boundaries between what is considered traditional and contemporary. Also continuously blurred are global, national and local relations. The increasing global flow of goods, people, images, technology and information made boundaries more permeable than ever. The *transisi* situation and *multidimensi* feature was emblematically stressed at the meeting "Peran Komunitas Budaya di Era Keistimewaan DIY" (Role of Community Culture in the Age of Yogyakarta's speciality) held on August 2-3, 2016 in Yogyakarta. Regarding the synergy between Yogyakarta and Indonesia, reference was made to the 4K strengths, namely *Kraton* (palace), *Kampus* (university), *Kaprajan* (government), *Kampung* (village). These four points or places can be physically delimited but at the same time are in close interrelation, since the people, their relationships and narratives are interwoven and move across them. Wayang, according to my experience, re-traces and constitutes part of these relations.

The 4 Ks in interrelation

On a Friday morning, some weeks after the course started, pak Sagio was not at his studio in the village desa Bangunjiwo, where practical drawing, carving and colouring lessons took place. He was always diligently, warmly detached and present. I found his absence strange. So I felt a compelling need to ask where our teacher was. The other students explained that he was at the *kraton*. What for? I wanted to urge again, but I still did not have the confidence or recklessness to pry into things that did not concern me. Later in the morning around 11 *siang*, he arrives in an elegant batik shirt. Once a year the *kraton* opens its inheritances or treasures called *pusaka* for cleansing and stores them again. He was attending this ritual event in the morning of this propitious day, *jumat kliwon*, according to the Javanese calendar (from my diary 23 October 2015).

The Javanese calendar is based on multiple and overlapping measurements of time called cycles. It was proclaimed during the reign of Sultan Agung (1613-1646) and the spread of Islam in Mataram kingdom. It officially started in the Gregorian year of 1633, combining the Saka calendar system of counting and the lunar cycle measurement of Muslim calendar *hijriyah*. The five-day market week or *pasaran* consists of:

legi, pahing, pon, wage, kliwon (in *ngoko* or low Javanese) or

manis, pait, petak, cemeng, asih (in *kromo/krama* or high Javanese).²

The calendar of Islamic derivation by a seven-day weekly cycle derives from the corresponding Arabic name:

al-ithnayn, ath-thalatha, al-arba'a, al-khamis, al-jum'a, as-sabt, al-ahad
(arab)

senin, Selasa, rebo, kemis, jemuwah, setu, minggu/ahad (Javanese).

Combining the seven-day calendar and the Javanese five-day calendar (7x5) the 35-day cycle is constituted. Therefore *jemuwah* or *jumat*, Indonesian for Friday, falls on *kliwon* day, every cycle of 35 days.

A cyclical understanding of time was highlighted in Javanese music, *gending Jawa*: the base cycle is marked by the *gong* instrument in the gamelan ensemble.

² The Javanese language has various forms or levels of speeches according to relation of intimacy, social status and ages between the interlocutors.

According to Judith Becker (1980), each *gongan* cycle is divided into half by the *kenong* instrument, the quarter by *kempul*, one-eighth by *kethuk*, one-sixteenth by *sarong*, and one-thirty-second by *bonang barung*. First suggested by Alton L. Becker, to the idea of the relationship between gamelan structure and Javanese calendric cycles, Judith Becker noted that the importance of the “Great Cosmic Order” to concepts of state and statecraft in ancient and medieval Java finds a remarkable parallel in the development of extraordinarily elongated formal gamelan structures within the palace. The cyclical rhythm is therefore an integral part of wayang performance for its gamelan music structure as for the play structure and the occurrence of the performance.

The Javanese calendar, nowadays used together with two other calendars, the Gregorian and the Islamic, marks the time especially for ritual purposes and became an identifying cultural icon of *kejawen*. The term *kejawen* is often translated as “Javanese” or “Javanism” for its close association with people inhabiting the island of Java. One of the most influential definitions was Clifford Geertz’s *The Religion of Java* (1960), which divides Javanese religion into three main parts: *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi*. All Muslims, the *santri* are considered puritan, the *priyayi* influenced by court mysticism, while the *abangan* follow *kejawen* rituals. Whether considered a religion, a philosophy, a belief, not one but many ways of conceiving the world and life, generally it is concerned with spiritual self-control, moving toward an internalized harmonization of the universal and the local, the communal and the individual. Javanese spiritual and mystical knowledge, *ilmu*, is informed by the body of practices, *kebatinan*, that are strongly inward-directed, training the secretive hidden being, *batin*, and intuition, *rasa*, to be attuned to the divine inspiration that will function as a guide through life. Ascetic practices called *tapa* in the sense of renouncing one or more aspects of daily life (food, speech, sex, light, sleep, as examples) are common among the *kejawen* practitioners. It is a self-centred mystic quest for the inevitability and fulfilment of destiny. It has to do with transcendental and spiritual vision in their relations with others and with the Supreme Being. So doing, the worship and devotions to local and ancestral spirits are encouraged, and sometimes the advice of a *dukun* or healer is sought (VanHoebrouck 2004). Places, objects, stories and times are often associated with

the spirits and deities worshipped, as animated by efficacious supernatural power or “numinous” beings (Byrne 2014: 3; Bennett 2010).

On the night from Thursday to *jumat kliwon* especially, the communication with cosmic dimensions is thought to be easier. On that night people converge at special places like beaches, graveyards, rivers, old trees or caves with the purpose of invoking supernatural beings and ancestral figures to bring them good luck. On Parangtritis beach south of Yogyakarta, for example, guesthouses, food stalls and prostitutes together with wayang and *kethoprak* shows animate the already overcrowded place. Various rituals, techniques of asceticism and magical practices are employed and offered. The supernatural blessing in Parangtritis often materializes in the form of a gem or traditional weapon (such as a *keris*) and many people are seen scrutinizing the crashing waves or sitting by the grave of some venerable prophet. The general belief is that the queen or one of her powerful consorts will send a sign to be caught by the prayers (VanHoebrouck 2004).

One may expect that *kejawen* or mystical concepts and practices would be something of narrow and restricted access, but actually various outward manifestations occurred or can be inquired into in conversations. *Kejawen* practitioners may recover an important role in daily and seasonal activities. Some aspired to respectability and recognition, expressed by hierarchical forms of etiquette, modes of acceptance and deference, modesty and acquiescence. Romain Bertrand names it a “moral economy of behaviour”, because it ties into traditional codes of social conduct and obligations of the powerful towards the powerless (Bertrand 2002: 181). He makes the further point that the urban intelligentsia and politicians have constant recourse to ‘rural superstitions’, out of personal conviction or fear of deceiving their supporters. Bertrand concludes by warning that although this discourse of the ‘invisible’ may seem to have a genuine democratic feature, it is nonetheless often a potential carrier of other interests. Its mystery and mysticism is often reinvented and used for other purposes. *Kejawen* could be easily added to the four Ks mentioned before, if it would be as the other official religions, as will be seen later.

On another day of class, almost near the end of the course, I asked pak Sagio what he used to do when at the *kraton*.

- "Every Thursday pak Sagio treats, takes care of wayang puppets.³ Four people are actually in charge of that, each with a particular different task".

- "Are the wayang kept in the *kraton* used for performance too?"

- "Yes, an exception is made for some wayang dating back to 1756 that are used every *windu jawa*, exactly on the year *dal*. That means every 8 years".

According to the Javanese calendar an eight-year cycle is one *windu*. Every year which composes one *windu* eight-year cycle has a name: *alip, ehe, jimawal, je, dal, be, wawu, jimakir*. Then, the year of *dal* will also return every 8 years. This is like the concept of a lunar calendar called *asta-wara*.

- "How one could access the *kraton* in order to serve it?" I asked him in order to make it clearer.

- "We are not necessarily descendants of aristocrats, with blue blood, *darah biru*. Rather one can apply for training or a job".

The Yogyakarta *kraton* is often recognized by the inhabitants as the heir and protector of the material, philosophical, ritual and artistic culture of Java, and the old upper class, the *priyayi* class or the aristocracy *kaum ningrat*, as the main carriers, preservers and literary producers of high culture. Some of the present street names such as Sosrowijayan or Wijilan, recall the noblemen who once had their residence just outside the *kraton* in their own compounds near the centre of the city (Robson 2003: xv). The model of correct behaviour, *tatakrama*, and beliefs associated with the courts was largely accepted as representing the exemplary values of Javanese culture, *kejawen* included. The ideals of conduct are those of the warrior prince *satriya*, loyal to the ruler and in service of the kingdom. Yogyakarta is elevated as cultural bastion of Java, a source and guardian vessel of the essential values of Javanese culture.

With national independence, Yogyakarta became part of Indonesia and ceased to function as a sultanate. However, for its historical participation in the struggle for independence since the sultan Hamengku Buwana IX (abbreviated HBIX) offered support and safety to Sukarno and his troops inside the *kraton* in order to rearrange themselves, Yogyakarta was honoured, retaining a status of semi-

³ It is common practice to refer to oneself in the third person as a sign of education and humility.

independence⁴ by the then President Sukarno, the first of the Indonesian Republic. The *istimewa* Yogyakarta's attribution, meaning both special and extraordinary, is nowadays a popular motto and an official status about which, moreover, many people in Yogyakarta feel proud. The title of this chapter refers to it.

As Yogyakarta was not a sultanate anymore, but a middle-sized town participating in national affairs, the ruling sultan at the time moved to Jakarta together with other notables. In the 1970s the *kraton* opened to the outside, becoming a museum and tourist attraction (Mulder 1996). The current sultan Hamengku Buwana X (HBX), himself the administrative governor of DIY, as well a *haji* and a businessman, affirms that *kraton* is an artefact, and as such must be in step with the changing times. Nevertheless the sultan and the *kraton* continue to be held in respect and people continue to serve in the *kraton*.

The person devoted to the palace and the sultan, with all the rules which that involves, is named *abdi dalem*. Today it can be associated with the figure of the civil servant. There are two figures of courtiers: *abdi dalem keprajan* has a higher degree than the *abdi dalem panakawan*, much more numerous, reaching hundreds. In their duties they serve the court together, the first receiving a pension from the palace; the second a small amount of money. As mentioned in the introductory comics of this thesis, the name *panakawan* is also found in wayang in reference to the characters of Semar and the sons Petruk, Gareng, Bagong, as clown-like figures, apparently clumsy, but who lavish wisdom. The *abdi dalem keprajan* can also serve as volunteer and, under previous selection for verifying abilities to fulfil, a decree *surat keputusan* or *kekancingan* is given during a certain ceremony.

I often visited the *kraton*. On a Sunday morning, a court dance show is scheduled at 10 am weekly as well as dance training on a different stage. Among the faces framed by the Javanese headgear *blangkon* I recognized pak Sagio, sitting cross-legged with other companions, in the shadow of the main *joglo* where the

⁴ Firstly proclaimed by the document *Amanat 5 September 1945*.

Recently, in response to a move by politicians of Jakarta to withdraw the region's special status, its autonomy and authority for local politics as a separate administrative entity was reaffirmed through the law *undang-undang n° 13/2012*, concerning the special status of Yogyakarta (*Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*), then reinforced by the Regulation of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (*Peraturan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta n° 1/2013*), on the Authority in Special Affairs (*Kewenangan Dalam Urusan Keistimewaan*).

performance was taking place. Two *abdi dalem* stopped me to talk on the threshold of one of the buildings of the sultan's palace. They explained to me that the negative aspects of each individual are kept, well closed and behind the shoulders, in the back ball of the headgear. Having access to the building, the right foot is the first to move forward. The same is for the right hand, which is the good one for doing mostly everything, the left being reserved for the bathroom. While in service, they move on bare feet and don't sleep for a day, half-a-day or hours, according to the tasks to be fulfilled. Everything occurred in a relaxed situation and with company, between cigarettes and tea. They continued showing me the repetitive three and four lines on the shirt they were wearing: seven, as the number of the buttons on the sleeves, is an important Muslim number. "Everything has meanings – they said smiling – and even for the Javanese it is complicated" they revealed.

The rules and symbols just reported are just the tip of a large compendium of customs that invest especially the people directly devoted or related to the kraton of Yogyakarta, but also the individuals and communities that shared the values. As can be expected, mostly elderly people manifest interest for kraton and etiquette matters. Young people do not have much interest in deepening their knowledge and direct experience with it. Exceptions are not lacking, such as the glaring example, often reported in the newspapers, of the senior *dalang* serving at the kraton with his little nephew or again the young students who rely on kraton's written documentation and oral knowledge for their researches. In fact the eroding attention paid to kraton is not just due to a generational matter related to the changing times, but is also and probably mainly related to social status and physical distances.

Despite the distances being reduced due to the increasing possibility of moving and the kraton having been outwardly directed, most of the inhabitants of the special region of Yogyakarta have only a vague idea of what life in the kraton could be, if not loaded with a strong dose of nostalgia for days past or with a mysterious nuance by a quick visit. The peasants, named *rakyat kecil* or *wong cilik* in Javanese, living in the rural hinterlands of the region especially, but also the emerging middle class, are living quite a different life. In this regard I remember the woman from whom I used to buy fruits and vegetables. She only moves by bicycle

and she said she had never gone to the town, at most to the big market nearby. In fact, despite the boom of the motorbikes, the circular route named Ring Road encircling the urban municipality of Yogyakarta *kotamadya* and the increasing traffic jams, the contrast is noticeable between the modernity of some of the urban neighbourhoods and the villages amidst the rice fields. The urban town is surrounded by four more regencies or *kabupaten*, namely Gunung Kidul in the east, Bantul in the southeast-south, Kulon Progo in the west and Sleman in the north. Large mountains like the Vulkan Merapi in the north, the Mounts of Sewu and Kidul in the south and mount Sumbing in the west separate valleys and fertile plains with rice fields until the Indian Ocean in the south. The mountainous areas are difficult to access, mainly dependent on private transport.

In this regard, an opposed interpretation of a shooting star on the roof of the house surprised me and called my attention to the different perceptions of everyday life. In the midst of *kejawan* observers I often heard the shooting star being perceived as a divine favour or *wahyu*, a high calling to power if not acquired through inheritance. In Gunung Kidul, the mountainous regency situated in the south of Yogyakarta, where poverty and drought are more widespread, a coloured fireball on the night sky, *pulung gantung*, causes some of the inhabitants to commit suicide, according to the work of Ivan Sagita (2011).

At the same time, people located at the border areas are perceived as keeping a strong sense of mutual cooperation, of supporting each other (*kerja sama-sama*), a conception and custom of sociality, reciprocity and mutual aid known by the Javanese expression of *gotong royong*, to be further explored later. Especially the people inhabiting the villages, *kampung* or *desa*, claim and practise this communal spirit and support, which usually occur for village rituals as the cleaning of the cemetery and of the village itself (*bersih desa*), as for wedding ceremonies, where cooking and other activities are shared among the inhabitants. Even patrols or *ronda* around the neighbourhood unite volunteer men at night. The sense of community or family is stressed strongly every day. It often hinges on religiosity, a pillar in Indonesia as observable by socio-religious landscape, where mosques doubtless dominate. All the while, there are demonstrations calling for Indonesia to

be turned into an Islamic state as religious leaders turn into fiery politicians.⁵ On a smaller scale, the religious community and the village community often overlap. Religion becomes an unavoidable thing due to family pressures, the repeated muezzin's calls to prayers throughout the day, the prayers at school at the beginning of the lessons, the entry 'religion' in the identity card. Nevertheless Javanese people have various level of adherence to Islam.

Among those labelled "Muslim" are the devout faithful *santri*, but also millions of the so called "Islam KTP" literally meaning Muslim on the identity card for whom Islam goes no further than that.⁶ The vast majority are somewhere in between *abangan*, fasting on Ramadan but not praying, or mixing some level of Islamic scruples with *kejawen*. Of *kejawen*, the inclusiveness and tendency to syncretize/synthesize aspects of various religions in an amalgamation of animism, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic, especially Sufi beliefs is often stressed. In the past many *kejawen* practitioners classify themselves as Muslims despite lacking any familiarity with Islam. *Kejawen* together with other mystical traditions throughout all Indonesia, was categorized as system of belief, *kepercayaan*, rather than religion. In 1978 Suharto New Order government required an identity card column to be filled in with one of the official religions in the civil registration form, forcing those people who do not yet have a religion or *agama* to embrace one. Whether by virtue or necessity, *kejawen* and other believers identify with one of the six officially recognized religions, at least on their identity card.

Only by 2013 did the Population Administration Law require people adopting indigenous native faiths, *penghayat kepercayaan*, to leave the religion column in their ID cards blank. In 2017 the Constitutional Court granted a judicial review request filed by followers of four indigenous faiths. According to the court "Article 61 [2] and Article 64 [5] of the Population Administration Law contradict the 1945 Constitution" and were discriminatory. The disputed articles provided no legal

⁵ <https://www.insideindonesia.org/essay-in-god-we-don-t-trust>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

⁶ See short-film *KTP* (2016) by Shinta Oktania Retnani [online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kwdzu_L-uSE, last accessed May 31, 2020].

certainty and violated principles of equal justice for all citizens.⁷ This led in 2019 to the Ministry of Home Affairs allowing the e-ID card's religion column to be filled with *penghayat*, faith. There is still some controversy, however, since the path for ending discrimination could be long.⁸

The first pillar or principle of Indonesia's state philosophical foundation, the *pancasila*, requires its citizens to have "belief in the one and only God". Six credos: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Hinduism are technically recognized and protected by law in the world's most populous Muslim nation of nearly 270 million citizens. Indonesian law and society saw non-religion as unfavourable and inimical. The penal code prohibits citizens from committing blasphemy and spreading atheist ideologies.⁹ After the controversial attempted *coup d'état* by the 30 September 1965 Movement, which saw six high-ranking army officers murdered, non-religious citizens were under great pressure since they were suspected of being part of communism. The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was blamed for the coup attempt.¹⁰ A mass anti-communist purge over several months soon followed. Large-scale killings and civil unrest targeted real or supposed PKI party members and sympathizers, ethnic Chinese and alleged leftists. The Indonesian mass killings between October 1965 and March 1966 defeated the PKI as a political force, with impacts on the global Cold War, brought the fall of President Sukarno and led to the establishment of General Suharto's political regime known as New Order for the next 32 years.

Witnesses and survivors of the 1965 mass killings just recently started to speak out. On November 2015 an International People's Tribunal 1965 was held in The Hague, concluding that the Indonesian mass killings 1965-66 were crimes against humanity and that the US, the UK and Australia were complicit to differing degrees

⁷ <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/11/07/constitutional-court-rules-indigenous-faiths-acknowledged-by-state.html>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

⁸ https://www.vice.com/en_asia/article/3kv7py/indonesia-has-hundreds-of-indigenous-religions-so-why-are-they-only-being-recognized-now, last accessed May 31, 2020.

⁹ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/may/03/indonesia-atheists-religious-freedom-aan>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

¹⁰ Benedict Anderson and Ruth McVey (1971) challenged this version of the events in an academic publication *A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965, Coup in Indonesia*, better known as the "Cornell Paper" [online: <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1978/06/01/what-happened-in-indonesia/>, last accessed May 31, 2020].

in the crimes. Indonesia responded to the judges' recommendation for the Indonesian government to apologize to the victims, survivors and their families, and to investigate the crimes against humanity, by rejecting it. The tribunal limitations are that the ruling doesn't have a binding effect nor is enforceable. On October 2017 the National Security Archive at George Washington University scanned and digitized the collection of documents of the daily record of the US Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, from 1964-1968. According to the materials, the US government had detailed knowledge that the Indonesian Army was conducting a campaign of mass murder against the PKI; further, diplomats in the Jakarta Embassy kept a record of which PKI leaders were being executed, and US officials actively supported Indonesian Army efforts to destroy the country's left-leaning labour movement.¹¹

Unlike the previous anti-imperialist and national sovereignty policy pursued by Sukarno, who withdrew Indonesia from its membership in the United Nations in 1963, Suharto's New Order regime opened the country to global investments. Not surprisingly, its end was concomitant with the Asian economic monetary crisis that hit Indonesia in mid-1997. At the same time, Indonesia's leading national newspaper *Kompas* officially announced the 1998 Year of Arts and Culture, a campaign created on a fictional image of the foreign and the native. The strategy of creating an external enemy to strengthen national cohesion and to divert attention from internal problem was not an uncommon political practice, in Indonesia as elsewhere (Budianta 2000). Capitalism was under the guise of development, politics of repression under the guise of harmony and tolerance. Examples of Suharto's repressive measures were the banning of *Tempo* magazine in 1996; the policy of the Normalization of Campus Life NKK, which prohibits students from forming independent student organizations, and prevents students from "engaging in practical politics" as response to the 1974 revolt.

Suharto's New Order misused a set of values and symbols in order to strengthen his centralized authority, as the politeness and harmony for instilling obedience, unity for uniformity and conformity, with a strong favour for ritualistic

¹¹ See the National Security Archive at The George Washington University [online: <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/indonesia/2017-10-17/indonesia-mass-murder-1965-us-embassy-files>, last accessed May 31, 2020].

performance. The myth of the harmonious *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (the Indonesian version of *E Pluribus Unum*) and “family values” are stressed to inculcate the people’s obedience to and respect for rulers. The New Order policy treats culture as a commodity, as an unchanging token, whose glorification was based on an essentialist notion of culture as traditional values. By reducing arts and culture to marketable goods, it represses the voices of social criticism in art, the “dissident” potential.

On May 20, 1998, which became the National Awakening day, the young Sultan of Yogyakarta HBX invited the students and the people of Yogyakarta for a peaceful demonstration demanding total political reform. They gathered at the northern square of his palace where the Sultan criticized the manipulation of traditional values and symbols by those in power to oppress ordinary citizens (Hatley 2005b). The Sultan showed moral leadership, constructed his image of balancing and maintenance of unity and calm, blending modern political leadership with traditional protection and participating to the on-going political processes. Various large events such as sacred ceremonies, performances, concerts and other events attract thousands of people to the north of kraton and contribute to augmenting the sultan’s image and influence, and so social status. The same happens in wayang performances: the disguised amount of power in the form of respect that a sponsor of a performance receives is in direct relation to the number of guests that come to attend (Keeler 1987: 271-273), although the participants can have varying degrees of agency (Hatley 2005b).

The 1998 May riots turned into a series of violent acts, namely rape, molestation and killing of Chinese women; indeed, the post-Suharto era saw the resurfacing of ethnic, religious, ideological, and interest groups, closely linked to the cultural politics of the New Order. The first two presidents of the Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno first and Suharto later, despite the contrasting politics, self-identified with the “Javanese tradition”. In particular, New Order bureaucrats and elite invoked the symbols of “traditional cultural values” such as stability and harmony in order to support authoritarian practices. In this regard, the flaunted *komunitas*, the Indonesian word for community, is to be considered as a common and unifying feeling, liable to be used as a double-edged weapon. I would then insert

it as a sixth K next to the previous *kejawen*, various religions and beliefs, and the 4K of *kraton* (palace), *kampus* (university), *kaprajan* (government) and *kampung* (village). Political narratives, religious doctrines and cultural heritages, without neglecting the considerable changes over time, are strictly interrelated in the use and abuse of the past to build the present and imagine the future. Narratives, so variously conveyed, imbue places.

***Gotong royong* reuse for tourism and culture villages**

I previously mentioned the Javanese expression of *gotong royong* in reference to mutual cooperation and support, sociality and reciprocity. Gotong royong has long been stressed by scholars and politicians as functioning as a moral conception of the political economy on the village scale. According to the Indonesian philosopher Nasroen (1967), it forms one of the core tenets of Indonesian philosophy. In the anthropological domain, gotong royong was described as “cooperation among many people to attain a shared goal” (Taylor and Aragon 1991: 10). In Clifford Geertz’ words: “An enormous inventory of highly specific and often quite intricate institutions for effecting the cooperation in work, politics, and personal relationships alike, vaguely gathered under culturally charged and fairly well indefinable value-images – *rukun* (“mutual adjustment”), *gotong royong* (“joint bearing of burdens”), *tolong-menolong* (“reciprocal assistance”) – governs social interaction with a force as sovereign as it is subdued” (Geertz 1983: 211). John R. Bowen (1986) argued that the idea of “mutual assistance, or gotong royong, is at the basis of political discourse, changing ideologies and state-village relations: its multiple meanings have been central to its semantic, political, and economic roles.

Politically, after independence gotong royong was appropriated for national representation. As John Sidel wrote: “ironically, national-level politicians drew on such conceptions [adat and gotong royong] of traditional community to justify new forms of authoritarian rule” (Sidel 2006: 32). The five *pancasila* principles of the Republic of Indonesia’s constitution could be reduced to the idea of gotong royong: “The state of Indonesia which we are to establish should be a state of mutual co-operation. A Gotong Royong state!” Sukarno pronounced on June 1, 1945. The prime minister of 1950-51 Muhammad Natsir wrote in an essay: “our people possessed a

quality which lived deeply rooted in their bones, to wit: the quality to which we often refer as *gotong royong*" (Natsir 1955: 62).

The then first president Sukarno, dissolved the elected parliament in 1960 and established the People's Representative Council of Mutual Assistance (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Gotong Royong*, DPR-GR). The governor of Jakarta from 1966 to 1977 Ali Sadikin referred to the village sociality of gotong royong for reinvigorating urban areas. Under Suharto's New Order cultural discourse about tradition was intensified "moreover, the creation of a centralized, bureaucratic, authoritarian state entailed the standardization of communities as 'essentially uniform replicas of a generic village' especially after the passage of the Village Act of 1979" (Sidel 2006: 32). Again, even after Suharto's fall, from 2001 to 2004 the fifth president Megawati Sukarnoputri implemented the Gotong Royong Cabinet. From 1979 until the new 2014 Village Law, the village organization according to Ben White's essay "The myth of the harmonious village" (2017) seems not dissimilar, resting on a romantic vision constructed in the colonial period.¹²

The discourse of a rather utopian view of village life or perhaps nostalgia for an "organic" society that never was, is regaining vigour nowadays. The village, *desa* in Indonesian, consists of a number of clusters of houses, hamlets or settlements (*dukuh*) nowadays organized in *Rukun Tetangga* (RT) – the lowest administrative division in Indonesia –, which together form *Rukun Warga* (RW). More villages constitute the *kelurahan*, incorporated in turn into *kecamatan*. More *kecamatan* then are combined into *kabupaten* headed by the *bupati*, who responds to the gubernur, head of the *Provinsi*. The villages, especially the non-urban, became target of the programme *Desa Budaya* and *Desa Wisata* translatable as Cultural Village and Tourism Village respectively. It was launched at national scale in order to reinvigorate the villages themselves, involving the inhabitants. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs appointed the DIY and Bali as "ambassadors for cultural diplomacy", thus the cultural village as "the front guard and the cutting edge in preserving the culture".

¹² See <https://www.insideindonesia.org/the-myth-of-the-harmonious-village-2>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

Totally 56 *Desa Budaya* were designated in DIY until 2018, with an addition of 15 new ones in 2019. Gusti Kanjeng Ratu Hemas, the spouse of the sultan HBX and the Deputy Chairperson of the Regional Representative Council, identifies the districts of Kulon Progo and Gunung Kidul can be a pilot centre for the development of cultural villages in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. According to her words, the life of people in Bantul, Sleman and the city of Yogyakarta are more affected by the urbanity. The governmental aim is for cultural villages to become a shared strength of Yogyakarta in preserving culture, not contaminated with city life. The rhetoric of the programme emphasizes the importance of synergy with the local community, the initiative and awareness of the community itself. *Gotong royong* as mutual cooperation and assistance amongst neighbours and villagers in daily activities is once again summoned and stressed to play an important role. The official discourse says the aim is to increase cultural villages activities, not just limited to artistic performances or exhibiting traditional clothes, but rather touching on other aspects and involving the community in order to preserve culture and to develop the identity of people who still cling to tradition. Most of the initiatives for developing the cultural villages come from the local government *dinas* and depend on its funding.

Rural villages in DIY are also turning into tourism attractions, then designated *Desa Wisata*, but their number cannot be calculated with certainty. Legislation n^o 23/2014 requires the grantee for a tourist village to be a legal entity. Almost all of the initiatives in tourist villages in the province of DIY do not have legal status. Some have the status of village-owned enterprises, *Badan Usaha Milik Desa* (BUMDes), but the status BUMDes is still unable to receive the grant because the Ministerial Regulation n^o 4/2015 on the establishment, management and dissolution of BUMDes failed to provide clear and specific guidelines regarding the ownership and management of village assets.

The *Akademi Komunitas Negeri Seni Budaya Yogyakarta*, introduced in the previous chapter and hereafter used in its abbreviation AKNSBY, is strictly related to *Desa Budaya* and *Desa Wisata* programme in DIY. The school indeed prepares its graduates for working at the aforementioned villages, directly recruited by the Department of Culture (*Dinas Kebudayaan*). Lasting one year, the degree obtained is equivalent to D1, which according to the Indonesian higher education system of

diploma – D1 and the following D2, D3 – is an academic degree from higher education institutions or universities with a shorter period than undergraduate courses (*Sarjana* or S1), which usually last between 4 and 7 years. A diploma programme is more focused on practice than theory in order to provide expertise for work rather than academic knowledge, despite the continuation of academic study not being hindered.

Community State Academies were introduced in the national higher education plan in 2012. In September of the same year, the Ministry of Education and Culture inaugurated the first Community Academies (AK) in 20 districts/cities in Indonesia, among which was Pacitan, in East Java, hometown of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, at that time President of Indonesia. Just a month earlier, legislation n^o 12/2012 on higher education was approved in order to revise the legislation n^o 20/2003 on the national education system. The new legislation n^o 12/2012 explicitly introduced the new conception of Community Academy under the paragraph *Pola Pengembangan Perguruan Tinggi* (Higher Education Development Patterns), article 81. It is stated that:

- (1) The Government together with Local Governments gradually develops at least one community academy in the fields that are appropriate with the excellent potentiality of the area in the district/city and/or in the periphery area.
- (2) The Community Academy as referred to in paragraph (1) shall be based on the needs of the region to accelerate the progress and welfare of the community. UU n^o 12, 2012 *Pendidikan Tinggi* [my own translation]

The Director General of Higher Education, Ministry of Education and Culture Djoko Santoso explained that the purpose of establishing a community college is to unite the centres of economic growth and the surrounding community. The establishment of a community academy in the area was done in accordance with the needs of the region. As in the oil palm plantations, the industry was able to open a community academy in the locations where it is to provide vocational training in the intricacies of the oil palm. “Anyone can open a community college. The local government or private, such as industry. Curricula are also flexible to suit the needs of each region” he said (Kompas, July 19, 2012). According to Mohaam Nuh, the Education Minister at that time, AK aims to strengthen vocational education as well boost the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in higher education. Each student who completes this

education programme will receive a degree equivalent to D1 or D2 (Kompas, August 25, 2012). The Community Academy conception is based on the Community Colleges in the United States, two-year public institutions of higher education.

In 2014 the government regulation *Peraturan Pemerintah* n° 4/2014 on the Implementation and Management of Higher Education was stipulated in order to implement the provisions of the legislation n° 12/2012. Under article 1, point 12, the conception of the Community Academy is explained as follow:

Community Academy is a college which provides vocational education at one and/or two levels of diploma, in one or several branches of science and/or specific technology, based on local advantages or to fulfil particular needs.
PP n° 4, 2014 *Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Tinggi dan Pengelolaan Perguruan Tinggi* [my own translation].

Nowadays 83 Community Academies with various curricula throughout the archipelago are established.¹³

The AKNSBY addresses learners with an artistic vocation. An entry test is carried out to verify the abilities of the prospective students, who must have a high school diploma. Three learning courses are provided until now, namely gamelan music (*karawitan*), leather craft (*seni kriya kulit*) and dance (*tari*). Restricted to DIY residents, the college tuition is entirely covered by DIY Government. It responds to the urgent need for certification for art workers, according to the words of the Yogyakarta Governor Sultan HBX. The necessity for certification of competency was also stressed by the Rector of ISI Yogyakarta, with which the AKNSBY collaborates. Alluding to a globalized era, the certification in accordance with achievements is a requirement for competitiveness. To arrange, record and identify competencies with certification is indeed one of the basic goals in establishing the AKNSBY. “The rhetoric of improving ‘international standards’ of trade and business” (Aragon and Leach 2008: 611) meets the national government discourse on art and culture: since 2012, artist certification is on the table especially for entering the international ground and competition in the current global era.

The AKNSBY Rector Prof. Dr. Sumandiyo Hadi exposed that the first academic year 2015/2016 saw 75 graduates: 26 in *karawitan*; 20 in *kriya kulit*; and 29 in *tari*. The following year 2016/2017 a total of 77 students were admitted: 31 for

¹³ See <http://akademikomunitas.id/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

karawitan, 21 for *kriya kulit*; and 25 for *tari*. The courses took place at ISI Yogyakarta and in the Youth Centre, since the building intended to house the AKNSBY was under construction. In the case of leather craft, the practical classes were held at Pak Sagio's studio, in Gendeng village, Bantul, from 8 in the morning until around 2 in the afternoon. After a 30-minute explanation of the exercise and objective of the day, all the remaining time was for practice, under the teachers' supervision. The teachers are ISI Yogyakarta professors.

The 20 students that participated in *kriya kulit* have various backgrounds. Some have just finished high school, as is the case of the other puppet maker's daughters; two were *pak dukuh*¹⁴, the person leading a hamlet; some were former pupils of Pak Sagio; some others unemployed; some passionate about wayang. Moved by the intention to deepen the know-how for working leather, to acquire new skills or to know more about Javanese culture, the course constitutes an opportunity for all of them to get a certificate and apply for a job.

The practical lessons of the first semester occurred on Wednesdays for carving (*tatah*) and on Fridays for drawing and colouring (*sungging*). Leather pieces from goat (*kambing*), cow (*sapi*) and finally buffalo (*kerbau*) were provided for the students' carving exercises. Meanwhile photocopies of wayang character drawings by pak Sagio were to be coloured according to Yogyakarta tradition. A book with colour illustrations entitled *Gagrag Yogyakarta. Morfologi, Tatahan, Sunggingan dan Teknik Pembuatannya* was given to each student for study reference. It constitutes the limited revised copy of the 1991 Sagio and Ir. Samsugi publication, printed for internal use only, to be supplemented with more wayang characters colour illustrations. In the middle and at the end of the semester, the students had a written examination. The second semester saw three days a week practical lessons in order to make leather artifacts such as souvenirs, dancer accessories and wayang kulit puppets.

¹⁴ *Dukuh* – whether man *pak* or woman *ibu* – is the person leading a hamlet previously named *padukuhan* from which the term derives. The *pak dukuh* was re-used in the province of Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java, after the New Order era, while the term *padukuhan* was replaced with *dusun*, a division of administrative regions, which is located below the village. In general, in Java, the hamlet (*dusun*) is a set of adjacent settlements and the village (*desa*) covers all the settlements usually separated by rivers, rice paddies, fields, gardens or forests.

The final exam consists of exhibitions of the students' work "Pameran akhir studi 2016". Together with the other students' dance and music performances, the final examination was held, not by chance, in two *desa wisata* in the districts of Bantul and Kulon Progo. The first on May 26, 2016 was organized in *desa* Mangunan, Dlingo, Bantul, which in the following days would receive the sultan for an official *desa budaya* ceremony, as we will see later. The second occurred the following week on June 4, 2016 at *sanggar seni Bodronoyo Watumurah* in Girimulyo, Kulonprogo, just a couple of days before the start of Ramadan.

The AKNSBY Rector Prof. Dr. Sumandiyo, opened the event at *desa* Mangunan as follows:

" (...) with a maximum of 30 per course, the students who want to complete the formation should make a performance in the villages as a final exam. The first generation, already graduated in 2015, performed in the Gunungkidul area. Now the graduates already work thanks to the sultan's promise, according to which, once a student has passed they should work as cultural collaborator, with an annual contract. That is, immediately after, the students should work in cultural villages in DIY, of which there are approximately 438. For the initial admission test, the candidates must be already skilled, in possession of a High School diploma or equivalent, and DIY residents. Age is not limited, it can be already 50 or over, be dukuh chief or village of Mangunan, where the land got a grace tonight that we did not plan [referring to the incessant rain]. Our students are already waiting with spirit for dancing, but wait please, pak Mandiyo was told by the sultan to give some information, which can provide an explanation about what AKNSBY is. In Indonesia it was improved only in 2012, despite being already known in America as Community College. Within a year, more or less 70% is practice, 30% theory. Lecturers from ISI are teaching. There is Mr. Doctor Sumaliyono in dance, Mr. Suparto F. A. in karawitan and Mr. Doctor Supatmo collaborating with lecturers. There are still many experts as well as instructors into the art in Yogyakarta. There is Bu Sasmidowartowo, artist at the sultan's palace. For karawitan presently there is Ki Trusto. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I'm sorry I am publicising the AKNSBY. Ngarso Ndalem [the sultan] asked the ISI Rector, "I want to borrow professor Sumandiyo to run the Community Academy". And now almost 50% of my efforts are directed to the Community Academy in order to advance and give the graduates a good spirit! Tonight we will present mainly the classics because what we mostly learnt is classical karawitan, classical dance and classical carving decoration, as currently we have three courses. From the beginning Ngarso Ndalem wanted a course for making metal (logam) of karawitan, but we cannot because there is no teacher, no lecturer in Yogya. Nowadays logam gamelan in Yogya is already dead. To create the course

for making gamelan metal the opportunity is already lost, the professor does not exist and the ISI did not have lecturer who can create gamelan. The instructor had also gone so essentially Ngarso Ndalem, for now this course cannot be run. The plan was to do batik as well. The plan of Ngarso Ndalem from the beginning was about making gamelan metal because the plan of Ngarso Ndalem is that all the villages in the province should have a set of gamelan playing like this. But there are no makers (...) that is. What else would I promote ladies and gentlemen? Oh yes, the picnic. These students want go on a picnic to Malaysia. Actually, it costs little to Malaysia, but every year we can only go to Bali. I will bring them to Bali, without paying. Actually, in November they are invited to Singapore, but not everyone can go. We will go to Bali with the purpose of also doing fieldwork, because Bali has the most developed tourism industry. So I invited them to Bali (...) Once again I thank you all. The instructors that all came from Yogyakarta, raining but with spirit. Not because Pak Mandiyo is here, not at all, but because of the care or the sense of belonging to AKNSBY. Once again since the morning the students of tatah sungging have exhibited their works. Tonight we are already waiting for the dance, there will be classical and a new creation. I think it is all, if something is missing, my apologies"¹⁵.

After the two final AKNSBY examinations and the end of Ramadan, on August 4-8, 2016 the recent graduates went to Bali by bus. The long journey across the island of Java took us to visit Garuda Wisnu Kencana, before reaching the Art Center of Bali where Prof. Dr. Sumandiyo and I Made Bandem¹⁶ stressed the cooperation between Yogyakarta and Bali for cultural and tourism purposes. In the next days, as scheduled, we visited the historical Balinese building complex of Klungkung palace and the cultural village of Kamasan, where we met some wayang kulit craftsmen. The touristic cultural visit concluded with the students' performance of *tari* (dance) and *karawitan* (gamelan music) at Ardha Candra open theatre in Denpasar.

In relation to Bali, I remember a lively discussion at the Department of Culture and Tourism of Gunungkidul, DIY with the employee pak Wawan. From an initial prodding on wayang, *desa budaya* and tourism, we ended up talking about the coastal tourism in Gunungkidul that is developing at a frenetic pace. The Balinese southern areas, Kuta especially, are often the reference models for a too easy and

¹⁵ I have personally recorded, transcribed and translated the opening speech just referred.

¹⁶ According to the Balinese system of identification, three parts constitute a Balinese name: a prefix indicating gender, births order name and a personal name. In this case the prefix *I* stands for male, *Made* for second born child, *Bandem* is the personal name.

superficial “copy and paste” to put into practice everywhere. We agreed that probably the decisive knot to solve, or better said the challenge to face, is how to integrate two seemingly opposing policies: caring about beauty (natural, quiet, green, clean) on one side and increasing tourism (active, crowded, infrastructure, economy) on the other.

The story of AKNSBY and its context shows interesting points of reflections. For example, like the training course it is clearly in strict relation with patrimonialization, cultural and tourism programmes. The certification of competencies and the eventual short-term job contract as tourism and cultural collaborator are the practical outcomes of a close correlation of the various agents taking part in the DIY tight cultural agendas. The story that follows reveals some more achievements that expand and fill in the picture.

DeWi at the feet of the sky

As just reported, on May 26, 2016 the students’ works exhibition was set up in *desa* Mangunan. Once the wayang display was ready and our stomachs calmed down with the usual take-out box meal, we decided to visit the nearby tourist attractions on scooters. The well-known orchard *kebun buah* of Mangunan is close to an all-round panoramic view called *negeri di atas awan*, the land above the clouds. After this quick visit, I took the time for a solitary walk around, which brought me to the village Kaki Langit, literally meaning “feet of the sky”, hence “horizon”. There, my path crossed with students from the University Ahmad Dahlan UAD, a private Islamic university in Yogyakarta. I was talking with a woman, sitting on the wall in front of the house, when they stopped with shyness mixed with respect and courtesy. They wanted to conduct a brief interview with someone who knows and could explain the village situation. My curiosity was immediately awakened, so I asked them for some more information on the project and their contacts too. As students they do not have the very common business card among Indonesian workers, so kindly one of them, who visibly was more self-confident in taking the initiative, noted down the address of the university web journal in my notebook.

A few months later I found the article “Buah Manis Desa Wisata” (Sweet Fruit Tourism Village) published.¹⁷ It begins with the citation of the Republic of Indonesia law nº10/2009 concerning tourism, which according to chapter II, art. 4, states that “tourism aims to improve people's welfare”. All parties are convinced that tourism is only able to survive, then be sustainable, if the impact on improving welfare can be directly felt by the community, especially those living in tourist areas (Damanik 2013: 7). The article reports that until November 2015, there were 120 tourist villages in DIY, the rise of tourist villages becoming one of the opportunities for improving welfare. Still to analyse is whether and how the implementation of tourist villages in DIY benefits and improves the welfare of the community as tourism actors. This is what the Poros R&D students like those I met were aiming at, conducting a quantitative study in eighteen tourist villages spread over four districts and the city of Yogyakarta. With a total of 278 respondents and through a quantitative method of questionnaire with closed questions, it is stated that the result doesn't want to represent comprehensively the extensive DIY condition.

Based on the results, their study concludes that the presence of tourist villages provides a chance to increase community income. In addition to economic factors, the rate of crime in the village is a matter for consideration because the lower the crime rate in tourist villages, the higher the sense of security felt by the village community. Awareness of environmental cleanliness has increased compared to before becoming a tourist village. Availability of garbage bins supports the creation of environmental cleanliness, especially if the area is often visited by tourists. The high level of social awareness for mutual cooperation is one of the characteristics of village communities for cleansing the environment and other routine activities involving the whole community. According to the data, the presence of tourist villages is expected not to change social conditions such as the loss of mutual cooperation activities in the community. But on the contrary, community life is becoming more close-knit. Infrastructure in the form of good roads greatly supports the smooth running of the activity.

¹⁷ Online publication on November 4, 2016 at <http://persmaporos.com/2235/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

A few days later, on May 30, 2016 the inauguration of Mangunan's revitalization and governor assistance took place, together with the launching of the programme "One Hotel-One Dewi" and the ceremony for Tourism Village Award 2016. The term Dewi is a play on words: *dewi* is the Indonesian for goddess and in this case also the abbreviation of *DEsa Wisata* (Tourism Village). The programme in fact aims to develop partnerships between tourism stakeholders, namely hotel and *desa wisata*, according to the Head of the DIY Tourism Office (*Dinas Pariwisata*), Ir Aris Riyanto. The government together with the so called *pentahelix*¹⁸ brings together hotels and tourist villages for expanding marketing; increasing human resource capacity; raising local potential; and implementing tourism business standards. Twenty-one starred hotels have expressed willingness and are ready to partner with twenty-one tourist villages. In the framework of developing institutional capacity and human resources in tourist villages, the DIY Tourism Office provided guidance for the best *desa wisata* competition.

An international airport in Kulon Progo is also under construction;¹⁹ the vision of the Governor in terms of tourism embodies the DIY as a leading Southeast Asian tourism destination in 2025. The DIY Governor Sri Sultan HBX officially inaugurated the programme "One hotel one dewi" by beating *kentongan*, a hollow percussion instrument made of carved teakwood and used for inhabitants' communication in past times. Then he handed over the award certificates to twenty-one participating hotels and to the winners of the 2016 DIY Village Competition. The 2016 competition results were expressed in March-April as follows:

1st Prize: Wukirsari, Imogiri, Bantul

2nd Prize: Nglinggo, Kulon Progo

3rd Prize: Jelok, Gunung Kidul

1st Candidate: Rejowinangun, Yogyakarta City

2nd Candidate: Purwosari, Kulon Progo

3rd Candidate: Kaki Langit, Mangunan, Bantul

¹⁸ By the concept of "pentahelix" is meant the five elements of government, community, academics, entrepreneurs and the media. Again the elements are united in order to build togetherness in development.

¹⁹ While I am writing (May 2019) the first commercial flights are taking off.

A procession with offerings and a dance in local clothes preceded the presentations and official speeches, while the Javanese prenatal ceremony of *naloni mitoni* held during the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy followed it.

On this occasion I met a family that had recently started running a homestay in Kaki Langit and proposed me to stay overnight on the preparation night for the official reception of the bureaucrats who would inspect the village for the competition. On the night of June 1, 2016 then, I gathered first with the women who had long been cooking all together for the event, later with the village chief men who were having a snack and cigarettes. Early in the morning, the governmental guests were awaited and received by the inhabitants, dressed up and arranged in a line along the main street. The speeches of representation took place inside the *siskamling* office, an acronym for *sistem keamanan lingkungan*, a neighbourhood security system created by houses and households organized in the local level of governance of Rukun Tetangga (RT) and Rukun Warga (RW) with their respective heads, all collaborating to maintain order and security. At the entrance the elder women performed the *lesung gejog*, a percussion music instrument played using the rice mortar and pestle, while singing for Dewi Sri, goddess of rice and fertility.

Narrating places

Wayang and places affect each other in various practices. The process of affecting is indeed reciprocal and some places can be particularly significant for wayang practitioners. Searching for an old magazine about puppetry *pedalangan* drawn up from the official perspective of the *kraton*, accidentally I came to know about places imbued of wayang characters and stories. The magazine by the title *Panjangmas* I was searching for owes its name to a dalang of mythical or past history (cfr. Soetarno et al. 2007: 197; Sena Wangi 1999: 995). I was searching for it in the library of Rumah Budaya Tembi and when leaving without success I came across pak Herjaka. A tall gentleman with a smile and a look that seem to embrace, he works at this house of culture as consultant and writer of Javanese culture.²⁰ This time I found him painting on canvas a dreamlike landscape of rice field with a bright green tone, from which

²⁰ See https://www.tembi.net/author/herjaka_hs/, last accessed May 31, 2020.

grass stems rise to the top with some wayang characters taking shape. Explaining to him the purpose of my visit and what I was looking for, I asked him why dalang Panjangmas was so famous. He explained that Kyai Panjangmas was the king's favourite dalang. The story dates back to the seventeenth century, before 1677. The king at that time was the son of the Sultan Agung. So the king often invited the Dalang Kiyai Panjangmas to perform wayang and eventually fell in love with his wife Kiyai Panjangmas. He took her with him and all the other women went into the background. When Nyai Panjangmas died and was buried, he spent another seven nights on his burial ground. Kyai Panjangmas is located on the gunung Pleret, also called gunung Kelir, since at that time the palace of the sultan was in Pleret.

The reign of Mataram Islam found its foundations first in Kota Gede, then moved to Kerto, then to Pleret, then Kartasura, and finally Surakarta, where due to continuous conflicts, it split. Thus in 1755 there are two kingdoms, that of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, in the present place. The place is said to be sacred; it was chosen carefully, according to the knowledge of simple people, peasants. It is located between two groups of symmetrical rivers: three on the right and three on the left. King Hamengku Buwana I greatly appreciated the peasants and their knowledge. It happened that he entered to meditate (*samedi*) in the current Taman Sari when it was still full of water. While meditating, a large wave took the form of a large arch just above the king in a meditative position, or something similar, according to Pak Herjaka's drawing.

Searching for the magazine I came to know about stories and places related to wayang: places of remembrance as Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de mémoire* or the deeply related *Sites, Bodies and Stories* as in the recent publication by Susan Legêne, Bambang Purwanto and Henk Schulte Nordholt (2015). The contributors to the volume explore heritage formation in the Indonesian context from an interdisciplinary approach through three unfixed, mutually inclusive concepts: archaeological field sites, including excavations and monuments, artefacts from or defined by sites as well as stories about sites; people, using human remains in museums and research on ethnic identification as well as the representation of people in photographs and artistic expression; performing arts and intangible heritage – how, through stories, people engage with society and its history and

address issues of inclusion and exclusion. Following that I started to pay attention to places that, according to the people, are witness of wayang stories.

On the Muslim commemorative day of Isra 'Miraj,²¹ the Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad, a day of national holiday in Indonesia, I went to *gunung* Nglanggeran, in Gunung Kidul regency with a couple of Indonesian friends. Nglanggeran Mountain is said to have taken its name from the Javanese word *nglanggar* meaning to break, to damage, from which the Indonesian *pelanggaran*, meaning violation, derives. Another version proposes the word *langgeng*, which means peace and serenity, eternal. Hundreds of years ago, according to the story that has reached me, the villagers all around invited a dalang in order to give a wayang performance for the harvest. Each wayang performance must face the mountain and telling the early struggles and trials of Raden Ongkowijoyo is banned. If a violation occurs, the consequence is a disaster. The inhabitants tried to violate the wayang, causing the anger of the puppeteer, who cursed the inhabitants in a wayang puppet that he threw to the mountain.

Known also as *gunung Ongkowijoyo* and *gunung wayang*, it is said that the shape of the group of mountains resembles wayang tools such as *kelir* and *blencong*, while Kyai Ongkowijoyo together with the *punakawan* guard and protect the place. A stone engraved with the silhouette of a wayang puppet has been found too or a statue that resembles Ken Dedes, the first queen of the Singhasari kingdom.

Nglanggeran Mountain is actually an ancient volcano, *Api Purba*. It is a mountain of karst or limestone rock, formed millions of years ago, also known as *gunung wahyu* because many people, after performing rituals and meditation at this place, have their wishes fulfilled. On the night of the Javanese New Year as well as on *jumat kliwon* some people choose to meditate on the top of the mountain, 700 m above sea level. Gunung Nglanggeran was a pivotal point for the Japanese army during the Second World War, as a perfect hiding place to be able to spy on and attack the enemy, but also to rest. In fact, also Sri Sultan HB IX held a “district war”

²¹ *Isra* is the miraculous nocturnal journey of the prophet Muhammad and *mi'raj* his subsequent ascent into heaven, with the vision of hellish penalties and heavenly delights, until the final ascent to Allah, through the seven heavens. The journey took place on Buraq, a mystical steed of the Islamic tradition, ridden by various prophets, generally represented as a quadruped with a woman's head, wings and a peacock tail. That, however, is another story.

on this mountain in order to bring an end to the political turmoil atmosphere in Yogyakarta caused by the 30 September Movement in 1965.

Other stories, however, involve the origins of the mountain, telling that it was originally the peak of the volcano Merapi until one night Raden Hanoman in the form of a white ape was playing to reach a star in the sky. Trying to do so, he stepped on the peak of Merapi and cut off the top. In the effort to catch the chunks of rock, his feet pressed into the ground due to the weight of the stone, causing an emission of water. A spring big as a *dandang* – the rice cooking tool – was formed, and then known as *sedandang*. The chunks of the summit of Merapi at the same time rolled to the south, fell in the Nglanggran area and gave shape to the mountain.

Another story says that on the peak of the mountain there is spring water called Tlogo, not visible to eyes that cannot see. Angels descend from heaven to have a bath in the spring, whose bottom is made of gold, and to bathe the winged white horse *Jaran Sembrani*, on which the angels ride. Horseshoe-shaped footprints on rocks are the proof according to the story. During a prolonged dry season, the village elders perform rituals for rain to fall from the spring water that never drains. The hamlet *dusun* Tlogo Mardidho, which for generations can have no more nor less than seven families according to its elder *sepupuh*, uses the water to irrigate rice fields and to cure various diseases.

Wandering around Yogyakarta searching for wayang stories, I visited Goa Kiskenda in Kulon Progo. In the Javanese version of Ramayana, a giant king with a buffalo head named Prabu Maesasura reigned in Kiskenda cave with his brother, usually named Lembusura. According to *Arjuna Sasrabahu*²² as reported by Sunardi D. M., the brother's name is Jatasura, who functions as a vehicle for battle, while the bovine-headed giant Lembusura is the vice regent and mentor *patih* (Sunardi 1982: 115). Despite the variations, the core of the story wants the brothers' souls as one: they cannot die, except together. When one is dead, the other just steps over the dead body, and then it would come back to life. It happens that Prabu Maesasura fell in love with Dewi Tara, a goddess and the eldest daughter of Bathara Indra and Dewi Wiyati. Ascending to heaven, the proposal was exposed to the father Bathara Indra.

²² *Arjuna Sasrabahu* is part of the *Serat Pedhalangan Ringgit Purwa* books. Collected in Surakarta they contain stories based on wayang kulit purwa.

The god rejected it, since he knew how evil Prabu Maesasura was. The two strange creatures became very angry and with all their strong army threatened to destroy the gods and the goddesses' heaven. Prabu Maesasura succeed in kidnapping Dewi Tara and brought her to Kiskenda Cave.

Bathara Indra then asked for support from Subali and Sugriwa, both sons of the holy man Resi Gotama and Dewi Indradi. Subali was meditating when the gods came to him and he agreed to help. When he arrived at the Kiskenda Cave, Subali asked his younger brother Sugriwa to wait outside. "If you see red blood flowing, it means they are dead. But if you see white blood, it means I'm dead. After that you have to close the cave with a big stone" Subali said to Sugriwa. Inside the cave, Subali saw Dewi Tara and immediately he brought her outside. The two giant creatures attacked Subali, who fought back and struck Maesasura a terrible blow. He was dead, but the brother immediately stepped over his dead body and Maesasura came back to life. Subali understood it was useless; he had to kill both of them at the same time. Subali hit both the heads, one with the other, until they broke and died instantly at the same time. He finally destroyed the giant brothers.

Their blood mixed with their brains and it changed the colour to white. Sugriwa saw the white blood and he thought his brother was dead, so he immediately closed the cave. When Subali saw the cave closed, he thought his brother had betrayed him. At the same time, Dewi Tara was brought back home and Bathara Indra was so grateful that he planned the wedding of Sugriwa and Dewi Tara. During the wedding Subali came, so terribly angry with his brother Sugriwa that he fought him until their father stopped the fight. When interrogated, Sugriwa told about the white blood flowing, which make him think Subali was dead. The father apostrophized Subali "Why do you think you have white blood? What makes you think you are special and different from us? All creatures have red blood!" The father asked Subali to continue meditating in order to become wiser. Subali did what his father said and he went back meditating. Later the gods asked Sugriwa and Dewi Tara to live in Kiskenda Cave and build a kingdom.

Another conclusion in *Kiskenda Kanda*, the fourth section of Ramayana, saw Sugriwa destroying his brother with Rama's help. In return, Sugriwa lent Rama his monkey armies to rescue Sita from Rahwana and to regain his throne. ISI Yogyakarta

students, in collaboration with the DIY Tourism Office, performed the “Sugriwa Subali” dance in order to promote Kulon Progo regency and its tourist attractions, said *objet wisata*.

Stories inspire performances; form places; convey messages and values; move people; and are then used for various purposes. In so doing, *Kraton* (palace), *Kampus* (university), *Kaprajan* (government), *Kampung* (village), but also *Kejawen* and *Komunitas* are interlaced in pathways, movements and narratives.

4.

Making *Wayang* Performing



In the audience hall, where the king receives the guests, two maidservants advance coming from the direction of the king's palace. They crouch and turn round, facing the palace.



The palms of their hands come together in front of their face, rise to their nose in a gesture of reverence* and come down again. The maidservants exit and reappear from the palace, moving forward outside the audience hall.



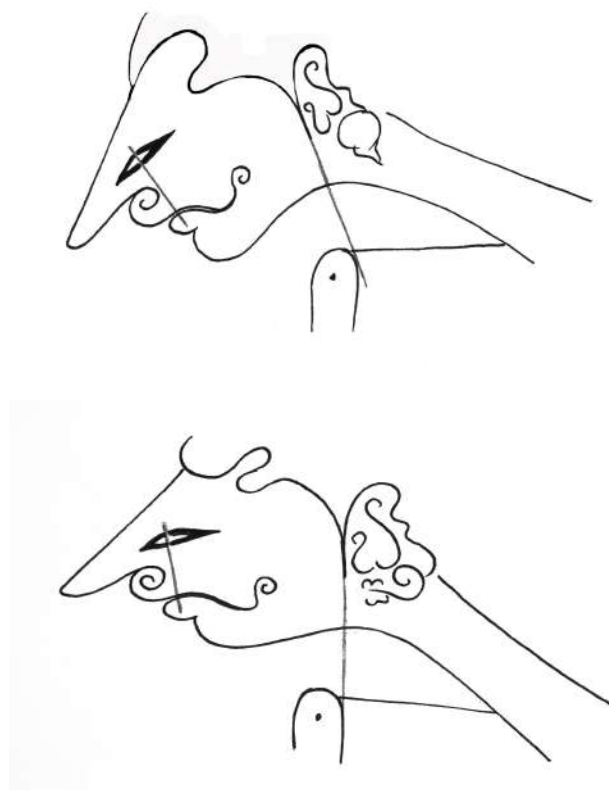
They enter again and sit down on the floor, hands crossed in their lap. Soon after, the king enters with four maidservants and sits on the throne. He puts his left hand on his hip as a sign of authority and strength, and with the right hand motions to the maidservant that he is ready to receive his guests.



After a bow of respect* to the king, the maidservants rise, move forward in a crouching position and sit behind the king. One after the other the guests appear.

*This gesture of obeisance is called *sembah* in Javanese.

This is the usual opening scene of a wayang kulit performance, if the *lakon*, or story, starts in a king's palace. The gestures of each character and within the space occur according to etiquette. It can be considered an example of interrelation between wayang, places and the 4 + 2K strengths analysed in the previous chapter. The intention in describing and illustrating this scene, however, is mainly to introduce the character of the maidservant or *emban*.¹ *Emban* is a female puppet and, like most female puppets, *wayang putren*, is a refined character, *halus*, in contrast to the rude one, *kasar*. Instead of looking down as the most refined puppets do, the maidservant gazes straight ahead, *lanyap*.



¹ The female maidservants, with the exception of the female clown servants (*punokawan*) named Cangik and Limbuk, do not have a personal name in *wayang kulit purwa*; they are generally referred to as *emban*, from the Javanese language. The *emban* description that follows is drawn up on the basis of the revision of the book (being published) by Sagio and Ir. Samsugi (2015 [1991]).

Its size is small, 30 cm in height, and its facial expression is characterized by a pointy nose, *ambangir*



liyepan or *gabahan*² eyes



and *salitan*³ or *gethetan* mouth, with teeth slightly visible.



² *Gabahan* kind of eyes resemble the shape of a rice grain which has not been peeled (*gabah* or *padi*).

³ *Salitan*, a Javanese term, means curl. It refers to the curl on the back end of the mouth of the puppet.

She is also wearing a *putren* earring, called *anting-anting*,



and a *sumping mangkara*, which is the ornament located above the ear, also used in traditional dances.



The latter is characterized by the carving modes of *petetan* or *bubukan*

mas-mas ””” *mas-mas pucuk* ”” rounded *inten-inten* ””

kawatan, a kind of curved wire ”” and *srunen* ””

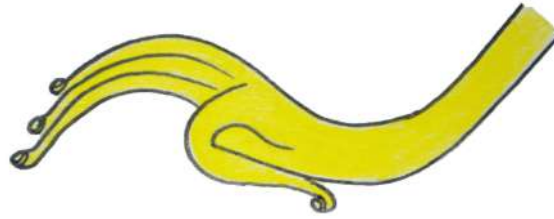
While the colour is graded and refined with dots, *drenjeman*, undulations, *sawutan* and tiny lines, *cawen*.



Her hairstyle, called *gelung tekuk*, is simply shaped by carving circular points at equal distance, *bubukan*.



In each hand, shaped in *nyempurit* form,



she has the garment of a ring



and on her forearms, *calumpringan* bracelets.



Her body is wrapped in specific dress for female puppets, *sampir*, which ends in folds, called *sembuliyon*.

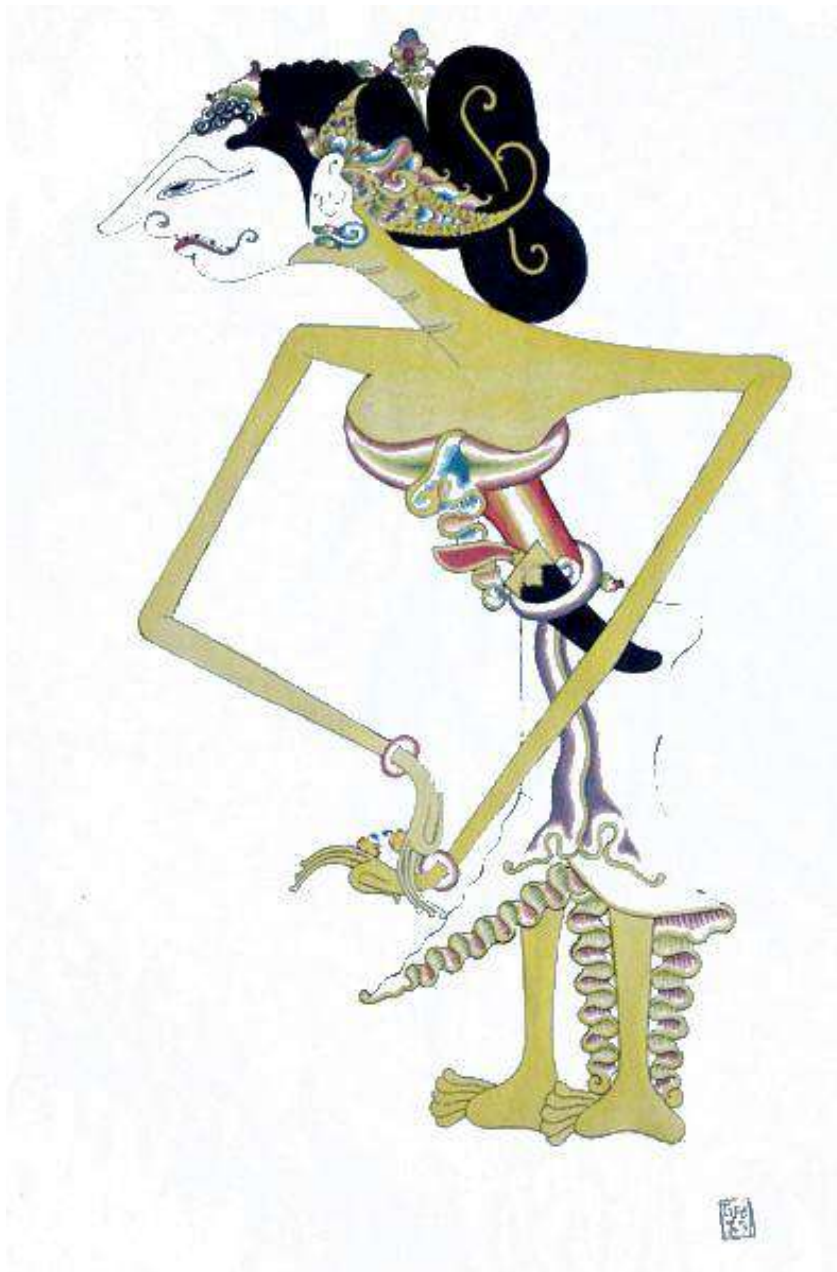


Its simple carving, *bubukan* or *langgat bubukan*, is later decorated with a floral pattern, *bludiran*, line ornaments, *isen-isen* and *kampuh* or a *jarik* pattern for the cloth covering the lower part of the body. The feet are close to each other, with no distance between them.



Finally, her appearance is finished by the *ulat-ulat* outline, which comprises eyebrow, eyeball, lip, tooth, ear, neckline, fingernails and toenails. With regard to

her movements, these are calm and gentle, perfectly conformed to her figure, seemingly graceful. It has occurred to me, however, that this delicate feminine figure was curved into such a bow that she could not stand. This is what occurred to the leather puppet I made. Among many characters of the *wayang kulit purwa* repertoire, I chose to make a female figure: a maidservant, specifically, because as shown above, it requires less elaborate carving and colouring compared to other female puppets, deities for example. Supposedly, it was a reasonable decision for a novice *wayang kulit* maker. Indeed the result was acceptably good looking, until I removed the maidservant from the flat surface, with the intention to manipulate it, and I realized that she bent over.



The reason for telling this personal anecdote on making wayang kulit is due to the fact that, despite at first appearing to be a failure, it turned out to be very meaningful. What follows is an attempt to explain what I learned from this incident. In this intention, as anticipated in the first chapter of this thesis, the reading of Tim Ingold's *Making* (2013), to which I made explicit reference, was extremely helpful. In particular, it proved useful in shedding light on the following three main points or issues: the importance of selecting materials; the correspondence between maker, materials and surroundings; and the correlation between making and performing. These three insights, actually, should be considered all in one, but, in order to make it as clear as possible, some linearity and systematization became necessary.

Selecting materials

First of all, I realized the importance of selecting materials. Within the process of making wayang kulit, a careful and informed selection of the materials, especially the leather, is implied. Different thicknesses and sizes of leather are required according to the puppet character. In fact, the smaller, more graceful and refined the puppets, the thinner the leather should be, and vice versa: the bigger the puppets, the thicker the leather. Furthermore, each puppet requires the thickest part of the skin in its lower part, where the feet are, while the thinner in its upper part, the head. To a person who tends to save throwaways, who faced with a sheet of leather tries to get as many puppets as possible, it is almost as if it is a puzzle to be solved; this step was obviously missed. As is perceivable, however, the leather selection criteria described above are not exhaustive. Much more knowledge, abilities and precautions are implied in selecting the skin, the basic indispensable material for making leather puppets. Being part of an animal, the raw hide is previously selected, successively undergoes a particular manufacturing process for becoming parchment and finally is stored in specific ways.

In order to understand it in more depth, I had the chance to observe pak Suyoto work and to enter into conversation with him. In the area of Gendeng village in Bangunjiwo, Bantul, he is actually the only one who treats and processes the raw leather into parchment, ready for making wayang kulit puppets. The first time I came

to his family house, which is also his work place as a Small-Medium Industry (IKM), he stopped his activity, and, knife in the hand, disappeared for a while inside the house. He came back, radiant and with a book open, showing me the photographs of him immortalized at work in Felicia Katz-Harris's publication *Inside the Puppet Box. A Performance Collection of Wayang Kulit at the Museum of International Folk Art* (2010), of which he jealously guards a copy. Effectively, he also appears in the related online video "The Art of Making wayang kulit" on the website of the Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe.⁴

In front of the house, large wooden frames are leaning against the wall. The leather is bound to one of these in order to let it dry and then to scrape it. The knife, a kind of small ax (*pethel*) he was using for scraping, is now on the table next to the book. The blade must be very sharp for gradually reducing the thickness of the leather, avoiding damage as the leather can easily be cracked and broken. The scraping movement is always perpendicular to the skin surface and in the same downward direction, from the internal to the external part of the skin. The outer part is only scrapped for eliminating the hair and the epidermis. The scraping is concluded when a certain thickness, equal along the whole surface, is reached. The thickness of the skin is conformed to the necessities and adapted to customer orders, which may vary from puppet, lamp or cup to souvenir. For making puppets it is between 0.5 and 2 mm; thicker hide is required for larger puppets, thinner hide for smaller puppets.

On a sunny morning of August, the Franco-German cultural channel ARTE, founded in 1992, was filming pak Suyoto while scraping the raw leather and his father pak Darmowiguno while making wayang kulit puppets. It was on this occasion that I realized that his father makes wayang kulit puppets. My curiosity was soon prodded to know more about the family history. Sometimes, however, it is difficult to understand which kind of bonds, by blood, marriage, affection, neighbouring or courtesy, is at stake. Appellatives such as *kakak* for elder brother/sister and *adik* for younger sister/brother as well as *ibu* for mother and *bapak* (abbreviated *pak*) for father are commonly used in people's relations, not just among family. It is also common that family members live close to each other, in the same village or

⁴ See <http://online.internationalfolkart.org/dancingshadows/making-puppets/watch-wayang-kulit-being-made.html>, late accessed May 31, 2020.

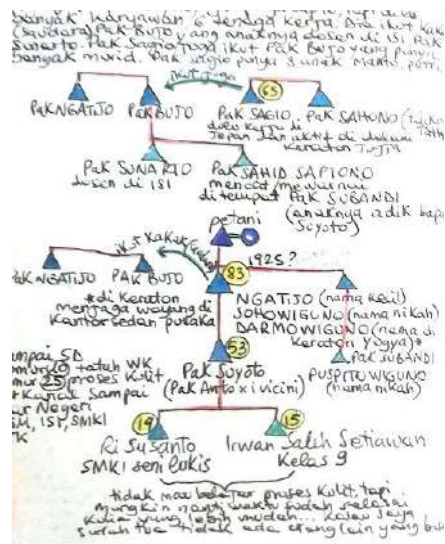
neighbourhood. My questions about ties were often answered by the words *semua saudara*, meaning we are all one family.

Once, after sharing a meal of rice, vegetables and tempeh, it happened that pak Suyoto revealed to me that he was part of a family of puppet makers. At the age of ten he learned the art of making puppets *tatah sungging*, or carving and colouring. When already twenty-five years old, he shifted to leather manufacturing. According to him, various schools and universities in the city, and even abroad, rely on him for the hide. For example, pak Sagio just bought four buffalo leather sheets for the Politeknik Akademi Teknologi Kulit (ATK) where he is teaching. Trying to reply to my questions, pak Suyoto explained to me in more depth the ties of his family members and with wayang kulit.

It is common in Java to change one's name, when married for example. Pak Suyoto is still called by his childhood name pak Anto by his neighbours, notwithstanding his married name Puspito Wiguno. His father when young was named Ngatijo and when married changed to Sohowiguno. Meanwhile Darmowiguno is his *abdi dalem*, or courtier/royal servant name when at the sultan palace of Yogyakarta, where his duty together with other colleagues is to take care of the puppets in the pusaka, or heirlooms, office.⁵ Pak Suyoto's grandparents were actually farmers. It was his father Ngatijo who decided to learn tatah sungging, following the steps of pak Pudjo, whose son pak Sunarto is now a lecturer at the ISI Yogyakarta crafts department.

As a result Ngatijo had a lot of work, six employees working with him, according to pak Suyoto. Now in his eighties he makes few wayang kulit, mainly by commission. The new family's generation, Suyoto's two sons, didn't show interest in learning about the leather and its manufacturing until now. Suyoto expressed the hope that after school is completed, the younger of the sons will; "If I'm gone, no one else can do it" he observed. During the brief recounting of his family story I was taking notes as follows:

⁵ For further information see the interview with Wedana Darmowiguno (April 25, 2016, Appendix n. 7).



Back again to the importance of the materials, I accompanied pak Suyoto to an industrial warehouse of cattle skin, namely *Sentra Industri Rambak Kulit* in Segoroyoso, Pleret, Bantul, DIY. It was just the day before Eid al-Adha, the Islamic commemoration of the willingness of Abraham to sacrifice livestock. Next to the piles of rawhide sheets, a large amount of pieces of undercooked hide ready to be fried was stored in plastic bags. Not yet fried, its shelf life is one year, according to the man working at that same place. After making sure that I had already tasted Indonesian fried crackers called *krupuk kulit* or *rambak* and especially that I liked it, he finally conveyed the recipe: “the raw leather is soaked in water for one night and the following morning is made dry under the sun. After dry it is boiled, cut in little pieces and half-cooked. It is left to stand for half a day and finally fully fried” (from my diary September 11, 2016).

The thicker leather and its residuals called *leresan* are used to make *krupuk*; the thinner one for wayang kulit; and the scraped hairs are used as fertilizer for the rice fields. Fully used, the economic income from the leather is fully maximized, and then the waste is minimized. This approach contrasts starkly with that of plastic, as the most visible and alarming example. Nowadays also used by the numerous street vendors to sell hot/cold drinks and foods to take away, plastic is thrown away virtually everywhere.

In the period of preparation for Eid al-Adha, as well as during Ramadhan, the month of fasting observed by Muslims until Eid al-Fitr (*Idul Fitri* or *Lebaran* in Indonesia) marking its end, and on school holidays too, the market demand for *krupuk* increases, thus the rawhide sells well. Not only because of this, pak Suyoto

took time to find appropriate water buffalo leather sheets, that is without defects and damage, such as blood clots and decomposition caused by microorganisms, parasites or humidity.⁶ The water buffalo hide is already dried, directly under the sun, pulled by rope in order to accelerate the process. In this store, a water buffalo hide costs around 90,000 rupiah⁷ per kilogram, with cowhide around 55,000 rupiah, according to the quality. The hide used specifically for making wayang kulit can be from goat (*kambing*), cow (*sapi*) and water buffalo (*kerbau*), in order from the lowest to the highest quality. Water buffalo hide's absorption and evaporation of water is relatively low, so it has a low water content. Cowhide is an alternative to water buffalo hide, especially for making non-standard puppet characters. Cowhide gets easily warped due to its relatively high property to absorb and evaporate water in the environmental conditions of dry heat. Goat hide, instead, is too thin to make puppets, and for this reason its use in the art of crafting is relatively recent, mostly to respond to the demands of foreign tourism as well as wall hangings. For making wayang kulit, goat hide is used for small items. The water buffalo leather came from Kalimantan and Sulawesi, but also from Sumatra and Sumbawa (Santoso 1194: 46) to Jakarta or Surabaya.

Finally pak Suyoto selected four hide sheets between 8 and 13 kilograms each. With buckets of water we slightly softened the hides to be able to roll up and tie them all together. Then with the unrivalled ability of the Javanese to carry everything, of any type, size and weight, pak Suyoto transported the roll of leathers on the motorbike, in the middle of the traffic directed to the city.

Once the raw skin has been obtained, the treatment to turn it into parchment begins.⁸ The already dried skin needs be wet again, soaked in running water with mud, while the fresh skin does not require it. The purpose is to clean the skin and restore its water content. Early in the morning pak Suyoto goes to the river that runs parallel to the main road of the Gandeng village and immerses the hide sheets. The

⁶ For additional details about the skin structure, causes of damage and the criteria for the determination of its quality see Endri Aribowo 2000:17-23.

⁷ At that time, September 2016, 1 euro equals 15000 Indonesian rupiah.

⁸ For more details about the skin process from raw material to parchment, see Jikson (2012). The student from the academy of skin technology (ATK) has accompanied Suyoto's work and described it in his final undergraduate thesis, entitled *Pendampingan Proses Pengolahan Kulit Mentah Menjadi Kulit Perkamen di IKM Suyoto, Gandeng, Bantul*.

river is less than a metre deep, so the skin is weighted with stones to the riverbed, in order to be fully submerged. After 12-13 hours, when the condition of the skin becomes soft and fresh again, looking as if the skin had just been separated from the animal, it is removed from the bottom and washed to eliminate the remnants of meat and impurities. Then it is folded and brought to the workplace for the following steps.

All the hide edges are bound to a frame, or *pementangan*, using a rope in order to stretch and flatten it symmetrically. Later it is left to dry in the shade of the sun in an aerated place, with sufficient circulation of air or with the skin surface positioned parallel to the sun's rays. This drying process takes between 8 and 15 hours. It starts from the flesh, the inner part and later it is flipped onto the skin side, the outer part.⁹ If the hide is dried evenly over the entire surface, the thinning of the skin begins. It is scraped twice with two different knives. As described above, it is a slow process, from the flesh to the skin, where hair grows. Considering the production quality of the parchment, the market for which already spread in the area of Java and even outside through the tourism market, the leather is cleaned of dirt remnants and refined, smoothing the skin surface with rubbing abrasive. Then the surface of the skin is doused thoroughly with hot water or a cloth dipped in water, thus rendering the parchment more translucent or transparent. When the surface is flat and no longer wavy, and sounds deep when struck, the skin can be taken from the frame, by slicing the edges of the skin or removing the rope. The price nowadays is around one million Indonesian rupiah for each sheet of ready processed parchment skin. The process described above for the preparation of leather (*ngerok kulit*) was initially made by each puppet craftsman. Now specialists in this activity made it in accordance with the craftsmen's requirements.

"The parchment should not take neither direct sunlight nor water" – pak Suyoto advised me, when I bought a parchment sheet with the purpose of making wayang kulit puppets. The intention is to prevent the skin from curling and

⁹ In the past (not possible to state precisely in which period) the process took much longer: the skin was laid above the fireplace so that the water could evaporate slowly until its minimum level. The puppet craftsman used a skin that was already naturally thin, then only removed the hairs with broken glass and kitchen knives. Then leaves, such as dry teak leaves, were used for smoothing the skin surface.

consequently distorting the shadow of the finished puppet, when placed against the screen.¹⁰ I was probably not yet aware of the consequences of tropical weather and part of the leather became an abstract painting while I was away for the Christmas holiday. Other forces such as humidity, fungi and insects visibly preceded me in the process of giving form to the leather, for which apparently becoming wayang kulit is just one among many potential steps.

Dealing with leather, I had vivid confirmation of Tim Ingold's reasoning that the material is alive and what the maker can do is "to intervene in worldly processes that are already going on" (2013: 21). This is even more evident with materials coming from animal parts, as is the case of buffalo, cow or goatskin. In fact, in *Making* he argues the idea that making is a practice of growing between forces, materials and gestures. This idea is strictly related to the second point of my insight.

Maker, material and surroundings

Now the leather has been obtained, it is time to give shape to the puppet. I placed a pattern of the puppet I wanted to make overlaying the leather sheet and I scratched the puppet image on the sheet, following the shape of the pattern down to the small details. What is interesting to notice is that it cannot be perfectly reproducible, the possibility of changes from the pattern can only be reduced.¹¹ This activity, called *ngeblak* or *mutrani* (*mbabon*), is undertaken to create a basic drawing or sketch (*nyorek*) on a sheet of skin by using devices like needles (*corekan*) to reproduce puppets. As the possibility of change is slight, it is a common technique carried out by the craftsmen for giving shape to the puppets. A much less usual way, called *ngripta*, consists of drawing the figure directly by looking at the puppet character or imagining it. Obviously, this modality requires much more skill, imagination and experience. It was mostly used for making puppets with a larger or smaller size than the standard, such as 200 cm or 15 cm in height, while today an enlarged photocopy can facilitate this. Pak Sagio, one of the master puppet makers in Gendeng already encountered in the previous chapters, once revealed that he used to spend one week for his own preparation for making a new character. He needs to feel and behave as the puppet

¹⁰ See Long 1979: 23.

¹¹ See Long 1979: 24; Sunarto 2012: 52.

would feel and behave. In this kind of empathy, the maker's mood is personally involved in the creation of the puppet character, in a kind of mutual transfer. The *dalang* does something similar for manipulating the puppet and embodying the character, as described in the next chapter. Whatever the method adopted to create a puppet – another puppet as pattern, photocopy of the drawing or sketching directly – each puppet is still different. In the process of making *wayang kulit*, borrowing Tim Ingold's words, the maker is in correspondence with the materials and the surroundings as well.

Making, giving form to things, arises through movement, the dynamic properties of materials and the balance of the forces at work. The skills are gained from experience through diligent work, which can improve and cultivate the techniques and enhance the results and quality of work. The Indonesian terms used to express the work of hands are, not by chance, *kerajinan*, from the word *rajin*, that means industrious, diligent, and *seni kriya*, handicraft or literally translatable as art of skill. Consequently, *pengrajin* is a person who ultimately has expertise and proficiency in it, as a master or *seniman*, artist. The *pengrajin* patiently and carefully carves (*natah*) the leather with a wood gavel beating metal chisels whose ends are previously sharpened against a whetstone (*batu asah*). To avoid the chisels ends being broken, the leather is placed on a log of *sawo* wood (*manilkara zapota*, commonly known as sapodilla), the consistency of which damps the hits. At the same time the leather remains stable thanks to a weight whose top is covered by wax in which the chisels ends are systematically rubbed in order to decrease friction. The puppet maker sat at the table, with his right hand rhythmically wielding the gavel while the left hand guided the chisels on the leather. In the act there is a mutual correspondence between the maker and the material. He carves the drawing's edge or sketch of *wayang kulit* on the sheet of skin to obtain the initial form of the puppet. The puppet's face is not yet carved in detail, but carved out of the image on the way to approximately cut the skin. All this activity is referred as *anggebing*. In the following step, called *anggempur*, all the parts, both cloth and ornaments, are carved in detail. Starting from the principal cloth delimiting the character body, it continues to the internal parts with the decorative motifs and other ornaments such as jewelry,

crown *makutha*, and more. In this phase, it can be assessed whether the generated carving is relatively rough *kasar*, *agal*, *wijang* or delicate *halus*.

A very important part in making shadow puppets is the carving of the face, because it will determine the character of the puppet. This activity, called *ambedhah*, consists of carving the eyes, the nose and the mouth. It also includes the carvings of the teeth, *salitan* or *untun-untun*, the nostril with spiral motif *upil-upilan*, the chin, the shape of forehead skin folds, *rengu*, the sideburns *athi-athi*, and the back part of the eyes of wayang, *suluhan*.

At this point, in which the puppet has already assumed part of its character, the colouring process, or *sungging*,¹² takes place. First, however, the contour of the skin is bevelled on both sides with a cutter and the entire surface is polished with fine sandpaper in order to obtain a sufficiently smooth surface. This allows the colours to be applied evenly. Traditionally, the white colour was made from bone ash, known as *putihan balung*; the yellow made from stoneware *atal watu*, which in Bali is called *pere*; the blue colour was made from indigo plant, *nila werdi*; the red from lipstick, deposition of mercury, *gincu*; the black colour from soot. Those traditional colouring materials have been replaced by acrylic colours that can be easily found in the store. The golden yellow colour is between 18-21 carats, packaged in a box containing about 100 sheets, generally manufactured in China. The colours are mixed with a liquid adhesive made from a compacted adhesive gelatine, named *ancur*. This adhesive material can be obtained from freshwater fish bones and head, *ancur lempeng*,¹³ and from animal skin, muscles and bones, *ancur otot* or *mutiara*.¹⁴ The quality of *ancur otot* is not as good as *ancur lempeng*, but it is easier to prepare: it rapidly dissolves in plain water and, furthermore, can be used repeatedly, until stale. Its disadvantage in colouring puppets is that it does not produce brilliant colours and becomes humid during the rainy season. With respect to *ancur lempeng*, it is called

¹² The term *sungging*, in its verb form *nyungging*, comes from the ancient Javanese terms *sunggi* and *ing*, which means elevating or increasing from simple shapes embellished to acquire its most attractive form. For coloring the puppet I also turned to pak Riyadi, in Cabeyan – a leather craftman specialized in colouring wayang and abdi dalem.

¹³ *Lempeng* means plates and refers to the form in which they are on sale, namely rectangular slabs of 3 cm x 1 cm x 0.2 cm in size, tied with rice straw and packed in woven palm leaves, *keba*, containing 1000 plates. In Indonesia, this type of adhesive is only produced by a domestic industry in the town of Kediri.

¹⁴ *Mutiara*, meaning pearl, refers to the shape obtained.

ancur mentah if diluted in water and lime, or *ancur mateng* if in a traditional liquid called *londho*. The first is generally used for mixing with colours and for covering the coloured skin, as a transparent coating material, *angedus* or *ambabar*. *Ancur mentah* is only used for black and white tints. Actually, there are three kinds of *londho*, namely *londho merang* (from rice stalks), *londho batok* (from coconut shell), and *londho jangkang kepuh* (from fruit skin). The latter, of better quality, is made from the skin of the fruits of the *kepuh* tree (*jangkang* in Javanese, *sterculia foetida* in Latin). This tree grows in the hills or in places near water and can reach a height of over 10 metres. For the Javanese it is considered a sacred tree, because, according to belief, it is often inhabited by good spirits. Many trees of this kind live and grow in the cemetery. Making *londho* is done by taking *jangkang kepuh* fruits 10 pieces (310 g) already dried under the sun and then burned until charcoal. While still smouldering reddish, it is immersed in much as 1.25 litres of fresh and sealed water, in containers not made of metal to avoid corrosion. Subsequently, it is left for 24 hours or more in an enclosed place. The *londho* is ready for use when the water becomes clear and slimy, as a result of material deposition. The liquid can be removed and placed into clean and dry bottles. *Jangkang* can be replaced with other materials, namely rice stalks or coconut shell. The making process is the same of *londho jangkang kepuh*, just described above, but the quality is inferior compared to the liquid made from *jangkang* fruit. Making *ancur* adhesive can proceed taking 30 pieces of *ancur* plates and soaking them in *londho* liquid, about 40 cc, one medium cup size. After the *ancur* becomes soft, it is boiled until the adhesive material dissolves. During the process of boiling it is necessary to stir slowly and continuously. The boiling continues until reduced to half of the original water. The glue achieved, *ancur enom*, has a consistency useful for diluting the colours, but for gold and coating purposes, *angedus* or *ambabar*, a more viscous and thicker consistency is needed. So the boiling is prolonged to a third of the original amount of water, in order to obtain *ancur tua*, old glue. It is to note that both *ancur mateng* types only last up to 24 hours, which, if exceeded, they become putrid and malodorous. All this meticulous process is now simply substituted by liquid glue.

With the colours and glue ready, the first step of colouring the puppet, called *ndasari*, can begin. A base white or yellow paint *gadhing* is smeared over the entire

surface in order to cover the pores. The paint applied should be sufficiently liquid; if too thick, on the contrary, it would look dry and rough. The next phase, *merno* or *mewarna*, is the gradating coloration, with a various assortment of colours. It must pay attention to the shapes carved. For example, *sembuliyen* is coloured with *tlacapan* for large sizes and *sawutan*, *kelopan* or *plerokan* for small sizes. The combination of colour and the puppet character should also be noted. The usual colour combination is red with green, blue with pink or orange with violet, for the sake of harmony. First, the lighter colours, then juxtaposed with darker colours, according to the number of colour gradations – a minimum of three. The contrasting colours will be neutralized, rendered fresh and captivating by the gold colour. It follows the phase of giving contents, stuffing variations, *isen-isen*, to the surface already dyed. This activity takes place in order to beautify the coloration itself, and for this reason it is also called “make up”. *Isen-isen* shapes mostly used, among others, are *cawen*, *drenjeman*, *waleran*, *gori*, *sisik*. They can be adjusted according to desire, and therefore have unlimited variation. At the same time some standard rules exist which have long been applied; however, other variations considered appropriate are not ruled out. For example, *tlacapan* or *sawutan* is usually decorated, among others, with *cawen* and *giyu*. After the *isen-isen* process, which includes the finishing *ulat-ulat*, such as eyebrow, eyeball, lip, tooth, ear, neckline, fingernails and toenails, *angedus* or *ambabar* is the last step in colouring wayang. The purpose of *angedus* is to provide a covering for the surface of the skin with a transparent material, such as *ancur*, egg white, varnish and camphor.

Still one might ask what such a detailed carving, colouring and decoration/ornamentation is for. For the purpose of exposure and tourism it adds some handholds for the eye – eyeholds, and then it is more interesting for the eyes. For the performance’s purpose it is not so dissimilar, whether seeing the shadows or the puppets on the dalang’s side. It is not just a visual matter however. The more detailed and refined, the higher is the status and the price. Symbolic meanings are also found in the shape and decoration. In a mostly tourist place near the Yogyakarta royal palace where the wayang kulit making process of *tatah sungging* is displayed and explained with the purpose of selling the final products, the symbolism of a puppet character is explained as follows:

basically there are two processes. The first part is when we try to show up the shadow. This is the way we try to explain the secret aspects about life: what is happening in this life, into the inside of the human soul and the inside of the universe soul. And then the second (...) the colouring is trying to explain about the open side. Open side means the behaviour of human beings (...) when we talk about the shadow, it is not just to show the beautiful thing, but every decision of the carving means something (...) we are related to the four basic elementary energies of the nature. Right here we can find all these four elementary energies in the form of the body of puppet like this [circular]. This is not the shape of the human bum, because no one has like this, maybe Jennifer Lopez has it. Sorry, but this type of shape explains about the four elementary energies of the nature, where everything can find the possibility of how to begin. This starts from to the outline, visualizing the energies of the earth (...)

(Extracts from the registration dated July 15, 2016)¹⁵.

The explanation is for touristic purposes and makes part of the wayang kulit ways to be, not lacking in convincing appeal. The reliance on and/or search for symbols and rules was briefly touched on in the previous chapter as well, but beside mentioning the existence of this aspect the theme is not going to be developed further, since it relies on the interpretation of what the puppet might depict and represent, which is outside the scope of this thesis and arbitrarily many past works have already focused on these aspects.

However, in a technical way, the coloration given to the puppets allows and helps the puppeteer to empathize more with the character that he or she is performing – moving, giving voice and making alive. Whilst performing, the puppeteer looks at the puppets, especially the face, and when there is rapid action, as in the battles, the colours help to quickly identify the key parts of the body. Thus, it is a performance matter too: indeed, according to Jan Mrazék, professor of Southeast Asian arts and cultures, gamelan player and on occasions a wayang puppeteer, “it is fruitful to discuss visual and performing arts together because in Indonesia they are indivisible in their world” (Mrazék 2008: 292-293).

Making is Performing

Back to the anecdote of the female puppet figure that could not stand, finally, I recognized that, for the full achievement of a puppet creation, focusing on its form does not suffice. Enchanted as I was by the puppet’s good look, I had the illusion that she could even move. Probably it could still be a nice decorative object hanging on

¹⁵ For the full explication see the registration transcription (July 16, 2016, Appendix n. 8).

the wall, as actually wayang kulit puppets are made for performance as well for collection, decoration, souvenirs and other purposes. Only when I held the maidservant puppet in my hands, removing it from the flat surface, on the way to move it, could I understand that it bent. As an apprentice, I had little control over my gestures going between the materials in proceeding to make the puppet.

Finally, my puppet that bent found its spinal column, which allowed it to stand upright despite some previous mistakes. The puppet indeed is provided with rods, generally named *cempurit*, consisting of a central rod, or *gapit*, for the body of the puppet, and arm sticks, *tuding*. The characters may have one or two movable arms or none. Made of two long buffalo horns combined together, there are two kinds of *gapit*, the white one made from albino buffalo horn, which generally come from Sulawesi, and the black one. The leather puppets craftsman no longer makes *cempurit* by himself, but orders them from specialized horn crafters in the Klaten and Sukoharjo area.

The horn crafters shape the rods in a particular way. Each part has its specific name: the slit is called *belahan*, the three bulges (above, in the middle and below) are *genuk*, the ribbed part is named *pician*, the indentation *lengkeh*, the tip *antub*. The part from the *pician* included at the bottom, is termed *popor*, while the upper part is designated *ujung*. The shape and size of *gapit* and *tuding* are fundamental for holding the puppet properly, in performance especially, but also in exhibition, collection and for gifts. Precisely the issue of the projection into the future or the maker's foresight introduces the third point of the discourse. Once again I refer to Tim Ingold who, taking as example the correspondence of the watchmaker with the minute watch pieces, elucidates that foresight is required. To foresee, he says,

"is a matter not of predetermining the final forms of things and all the steps needed to get there, but of opening up a path and improvising a passage (...) is to see *into* the future, not to project a future state of affairs into the present; it is to look where you are going, not to fix an end point. Such foresight is about prophecy, not prediction. And it is precisely what enables practitioners to carry on." (Ingold 2013: 69)

The maker moves between relating to materials and surroundings, and foreseeing their correspondence. Said in other words, making is going between forces already acting and, through experienced memory and gesture, seeing into the

future. It is movement in current time and space. It is saying that making is performing. Making is performing, as it is action, evolves in time, and involves maker, material and the specificity of the context, the surroundings. In regard to wayang kulit, if it is assumed that making is performing, another related issue arises. Is there any point of completion establishing when the process is complete? It became uncertain to affirm how and if the puppet is finished. For example, whatever the puppet's destination is, it requires attention and care for its maintenance. I am thinking about how a conservator does this by using white gloves at the museum or an *abdi dalem*, or courtier, does it by the ritual cleansing of the heirloom at the sultan's palace. By way of another example, I remember a remarkable performance in which the puppeteer completely destroyed the wayang kulit puppet into pieces. For me, as for others from the audience, it seemed not to be useful any more, but apparently he stored it for later performances. What seems to be a hopeless damaged puppet, would be, probably, sewed up and performed again for being "destroyed" again and again. That is, making is and corresponds to performing, and vice versa. Said in other words, objects are practices and practices are objects.

As said above, the puppet rods' size and shape contribute to comfortable handling and performing. At the Museum Kekayon in Yogyakarta, for example, some rare smaller puppets made for female puppeteers with supposedly smaller hands are displayed. *Wayang ukur* and other wayang kulit innovations see a considerable change in the puppets' size and shape. As we will see in Chapter V, a non-comfortable performing position is often pointed to and criticized among other reasons by those who keep distance from experimental changes. Changes to the instruments surely pave the way also to experimentation in performing methods and manipulations. Clementina Kura-Kura and Damián Bojorque, two foreign students studying like me at the Faculty of *pedalangan* or puppetry at ISI Yogyakarta, explicitly talked about the importance of the size and the quality of the elements composing the puppets: they do make a difference for handling and manipulating, according to their experiences in practice.¹⁶

¹⁶ Interview with Clementina Kura-Kura and Damián Bojorque (July 15, 2016, Appendix n.11).

What was discussed here is that selecting materials is fundamental for making; making is a correspondence between material, maker and surrounding; making is performance and vice versa. I have tried to report on and expose many of the steps and notions, accompanied by technical terms of the making process. Actually, this is not how the learning process works. The matter is mainly on the approach to whatever the master or the apprentice maker decides to do: an open heart and mind all in one are mainly the key. In Garin Nugroho's movie *The memory of my body* (2017) a scene shows the local tailor addressing the apprentice and the protagonist of the story with these emblematic words: "trust your eyes and sew with your heart", inviting him not to take measurements with the tape measure, but by eye. Training rules and *rasa* as a matter of learning making-performing will be discussed in Chapter VI.

In Jan Mrázek's words, "Often discussed as if it were a picture, that is, analyzed for what it depicts (...) the puppet is an instrument somewhat like a musical instrument" (Mrázek 2000: 50). The suggested "instrumental quality" of the puppet recalls the need to not "just stare at the thing" (Heidegger 1996: 65), but to use the puppet in order to create a more original relation with it, to capture how it becomes when moved, and better understand how the puppet is and can be. To the assertion the puppet is "for the sake of performance" as Jan Mrázek suggests (2000: 51) I dare to add that the puppet is performance. From such a point of view, the boundary between wayang kulit puppet and wayang kulit performance is movable, as well as removable. Transposed in the heritage sphere, the distinction between tangible and intangible ceases to make sense. Regarding the law for property, the World International Property Organization WIPO melds the tangible and the intangible (Aragon and Leach 2008: 625), but the understandings of creativity and thus property view the artefact as an "unreflective and repetitive communal output" (idem: 611). How is the work of the puppet maker considered? And by whom?

According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett "UNESCO's declaration and conventions on intangible heritage speak of collective creation. Performers are carriers, transmitters, and bearers of traditions, terms which connote a passive medium, conduit, or vessel, without volition, intention, or subjectivity" (2004b: 2; 2006: 177). The author argued that the performers, ritual specialists, and artisans

whose “cultural assets” become heritage are also subjects (conscious and reflexive), agents in the heritage sphere – something that the heritage protocols do not generally account for (idem).

In the process of wayang kulit construction, therefore, making is not only performing and vice versa, as discussed above – the maker transforms and corresponds to materials and surroundings; the puppet is instrumental for performance; tangible is intangible – but making-performing is so even in and of the heritage enterprise.

Makers-performers

I met Sulis at his home-studio in Guning Kidul. For seven years he studied pedalangan at ISI Yogyakarta. The 2006 earthquake¹⁷ interrupted his study, the shock was too much: many people all around died. At that time he was renting a room near the university, one of the areas most affected and destroyed by the 2006 earthquake. He then decided to marry and only in 2011 did he graduate with a thesis on the life of a wayang character, *banjaran* (meaning life, biography) Salya. “In life we are born, we live and we die, coming back to where we came from, like butterflies” Sulis said. In November 2016, he performed the story of the life of another character, banjaran Baladewa, at the Pendopo Dinas Budaya. It was on the occasion of the monthly youth dalang performance, a project carried out by the Sukra Kasih association in collaboration with the provincial department of culture and tourism. According to Sulis, he usually only trains two weeks before the performance.

On the wall of his home-studio where we met was hanging a wayang kulit puppet commissioned to him by pak Aneng, pedalangan professor at ISI Yogyakarta. Sulis makes wayang kulit puppets too. He learned tatah sungging at the university, outside lessons, because many pedalangan professors and students made the puppets by themselves. According to him, studying or performing wayang do not strictly imply knowing how to make wayang, but it is surely part of the familiarization and involvement with wayang. The self-taught puppet makers learned making wayang through a very personal quest, sometimes flanked or inspired by friends

¹⁷ The 2006 earthquake of magnitude 6.2 on the Richter scale hit Yogyakarta and Central Java around 6 in the morning of May 27. Two volcanic eruptions from Merapi followed.

going through the same path. They usually are dalang, pedalang students or inhabitants of wayang kulit villages and often the house is used as studio and/or shop where the puppets are made on demand, through word of mouth. According to Sulis, what he calls *industri wayang* strictly follows the models of the production, making puppets in series, meanwhile in the pedalangan context, space is given for creation, despite *pakem*, or patterns to follow, being there too. A dalang might draw new characters. For the dalang – he explained – the facial expression is the most important part, more relevant than the body and the clothing, albeit they are also significant. That is the reason why he said he usually starts from the face, so that in case he is not satisfied with the result of the face, he throws the leather away and starts again. Time cannot be a pressure, a difference he saw with *industri wayang* where time is running out. He gave me a technical example, according to which once the sheet of leather for a new wayang character is cut, it should be immersed in water and dried once again, stretched and pulled with rope in order to strengthen and at the same time make the leather more flexible – something that requires time (from my diary, September 27, 2016).

Some dalang are able to carve or to draw their puppets, but for the sake of time and the specialization required for making wayang kulit, most order from master puppet makers (Long 1979: 23). In the Special Region of Yogyakarta, there are four centres of leather carving decoration handicraft, namely Gendeng, in Bangunjiwo, Kasihan, Bantul; Cabeyan, in Bangunharjo, Sewon, Bantul; Pucung/Wukirsari, in Imogiri, Bantul; Sindurejan, in Wirobrajan, Yogyakarta. A village is considered a centre of a specific craft if the majority of its inhabitants carry out that same craft activity. Of the four centres just mentioned, only the first three are registered as *industri wayang* with its Small-Medium Industries according to the official document.¹⁸

¹⁸ The document is updated to 2015 under the Indonesian title “Daftar Sentra IKM Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. Program Penumbuhan dan Pengembangan IKM” Satker Dinas Perindustrian Perdagangan Koperasi dan Ukm, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta.

According to pak Arsono, an employee with whom I had the pleasure to talk at the department of trade and industry, Dinas Perindustrian dan Perdagangan, DIY, “up to 500 million Indonesian rupiah of investment the enterprise is classified as small; up to 10 billion Indonesian rupiah as middle; and with more than 10 billion Indonesian rupiah of investment as big” (October 14, 2016, Appendix n. 9).

Pucung (or Wukirsari since 1960) is more touristic, the puppets end up on the sidewalks or stalls on jalan Malioboro, meanwhile Gendeng is more focused on quality, the sale is direct and purchasers personally get there. It is said that in the 1930s, during Dutch colonization, Pucung's market began to grow through a Dutchman who in the north of Yogyakarta sultan palace owned a storehouse displaying wayang kulit puppets for sale. Towards Independence, the activities in Pucung totally stopped between 1934 and 1950 because at that time the village of Pucung was used as the headquarters of the guerrillas against the Dutch colonialists. The activities started again in the 1960s and the craftspeople began absorbed again because many puppeteers from Yogyakarta ordered homemade puppets from Pucung. Then in the 1970s leather handicraft rose again, because leather residuals began to be used for making fans, lamps, covers, souvenirs, and other objects, while since the beginning they just made puppets. Because of the experienced growth, in the 1980s the young entrepreneurs got together to form a cooperative of small industries of tatah sungging and handicrafts (Koperasi Industri Kerajinan Rakyat KOPINKRA) "Sustainable Forward", which became a legal entity in 1987.

According to Endri Aribowo, in Pucung, the legacy is traced back to the abdi dalem named Ki Resodikromo and Ki Atemokariyo, who were given the opportunity by the sultan HB VIII to learn leather carving and decoration (Aribowo 2000: 3-5). Pucung handicraft history – he added – cannot be separated from the intervention of the government training given by the Ministry of Industry and Trade such as skills, design and product diversification training and exemplary workshops between the 1970s and the 1990s. Finally, what characterized leather handicraft in Pucung is the rapidity to meet the target, the quantity, while the weakness is the accuracy as well as the leather quality, however the quality or level of refinement in Pucung is varied as there are 510 craftsmen spread across four hamlets, Karangasem, Karangtalun, Dengkeng and Jatirejo.

The history of Gendeng with wayang kulit is also traced back to the royal palace. According to pak Sunarto, it was Pudjo Atmosukarto who, following the steps of Ki Bekel Prayitno Wiguno alias Bekel Bundhu, went to the city and became an apprentice as abdi dalem, or courtier puppet maker. In 1942 Pudjo started to teach back to the inhabitants of Gendeng the skills of both puppetry and wayang kulit

handicraft as he learnt at the sultan palace as abdi dalem (Sunarto 2012: 2). In the 1960s Pudjo has some students: Soho Wiguno, Giyanto Wiguno, Niyanto Dwiyo and Sagio. If in the 1970-80s before the fall of the President Suharto, tourism was quite alive and safe, at the end of the 20th century it lost ground, influenced by the prolonged economic recession (Sunarto 2012: 4). With tourism still quite alive, now there are five craft shops in the main street: pak Sagio, pak Suprih, pak Barno, pak Rukun and pak Sugino as well as other puppet makers scattered all around the area, in the villages near the rice fields or up in the hills.

Entering Gendeng area, pak Suprih was the first wayang kulit maker and teacher I met – “only when a child, a person can really learn” – is the first thing I was told when I started making wayang kulit. Despite my age, I was given a chance. Foreigners and/or tourists used to pass by mostly for buying souvenirs, just rarely staying long enough for making puppets. He suggested me the easy puppet of Semar or alternatively Christian characters or others from the colonial or contemporary period. Semar, what better choice; its relatively simple realization disguises one of the central characters in Javanese wayang, to which are assigned several meanings, stories of origin, interpretations and so forth. A general consensus however exists in extolling Semar as a Javanese character creation not appearing in the Indian epics from which wayang stories are inspired. The Semar entry in the *Enciclopedia of Wayang Indonesia* introduces the character as follows:

Semar, that is often called Ki Lurah [headman] Semar, is the principal panakawan¹⁹ in wayang world. As the others panakawan, Semar is a wayang character original from Indonesia. In the epic of Mahabarata, the existence of this unique character not at all is referred.

In puppetry he is often called *dewa ngejawantah*. That is, a god that changed the intentions as humans in the natural world. Actually, Semar is the embodiment of Batara Ismaya in the world. In the manifestation as god, Semar is also named Sang Hyang Punggung (Sena Wangi 1999: 1169, vol. 4).

Semar also symbolizes the ultimate truth, and thus constitutes a guarantee of victory as well as safety. Semar words are regarded as the voice of common people, the unalienable human conscience. Due to the physical features of having a short stature, being potbellied, having a big ass and large breasts, Semar is said to

¹⁹ Javanese for punokawan (clown).

represent the whole, round as the world, neither male nor female, neither young nor old as he seems to wear a diaper. Semar has three children named Petruk, Bagong, Gareng that are referred as punokawan, or clown servant of the hero.

The following day, we started to make the puppet: pak Suprih cut a piece of leather with the pattern of Semar. After a brief demonstration and a few words of explanation, I was soon sitting at a table in front of the leather, tools in my hands. So it was for the following days. I had my own materials to work, that is wood gavel and ten basic metal chisels sufficient to engrave the leather. Making wayang kulit requires concentration, patience and accuracy, thus my learning process was fundamentally silent, rather operational and observational, of simulation and attempts.

At my back, two workers pak Sudalti and pak Parjiyo were carving and colouring respectively wayang kulit puppets. Pak Sudalti once told me that wayang craft shops consistently decreased, probably because the new generation prefers other and easier jobs: “youth in the area work at a textile factory, owned by a foreigner, with fixed working hours and salary”. He found foreigners more interested than locals. Sometimes however his body seems to tremble as in shots of nerves. He knows by heart the decorative patterns to be engraved. He also started to learn when a child as most of the puppet makers in the village of Gendeng.

In one month my copy of Semar was finished, complete with rods. I confessed to pak Suprih the intention to continue my learning at pak Sagio’s craft shop. As response I just learnt from him that his two daughters are enrolled in AKNSBY tatah sungging course too and that it just started. Pak Suprih explained that it is an opportunity, because the students do not pay and can obtain a certificate for further cultural collaboration with the local government.

Pak Sagio’s wayang kulit puppets are exceptionally refined, as the other puppet makers of the village already told me. They all agree that his works are currently the most sophisticated and therefore the most expensive in the area, probably extendable to the whole province of Yogyakarta. He began working on wayang kulit in 1963 and has not stopped since. He first learned from his father, then at pak Pudjo place, who had many students at that time. He was invited to give a workshop on wayang kulit making for six months in Paris and a year in Osaka,

Japan in 1970. The photographs covering the walls behind him remember the crucial moments of his life as puppet maker, such as when he was received and rewarded by the sultan or when he was in Paris and posed in front of the preeminent symbol of the city, the Tour Eiffel. The pictures have also succeeded in capturing and expressing the character and humility of the person that is now in front of me, sitting at his desk. His little eyes are bright and aware.

Pak Sagio works with his younger brother pak Sahono specialized in colouring and pak Sarjono in carving. At the back of the house-craft shop there are other two employees, ibu Parjiyem who for already twenty-five years has been working there and ibu Eni who after high school started working. When I explained the reasons for my visit and my request to take part in the AKNSBY tatah sungging course, his reply was that I should go asking directly to the department of education in order to find out if the course is open to people who are not residents in Yogyakarta. Only a second time, when I told him that my intention was to be only an auditor and to learn the art, he allowed my participation.

In the rear of the main street of Gendeng, there is another house or craft shop a bit hiding just behind the house of pak Suyoto. It is pak Subandi Giyanto's house-craft shop. Pak Subandi Giyanto is the son of Soho Wiguno's younger brother, so pak Suyoto's younger brother too. Differently from the family, pak Subandi Giyanto took more the path of contemporary art. He teaches at high school and said that his young students spurred him to adopt a much more contemporary language. In front of the house there is a large half-bust sculpture that a young worker is decorating with stylized images of wayang characters and other Javanese cultural icons. It is a commission from Australia.

Entering the house, pak Subandi Giyanto showed me his works on canvas, glass, mirror, aluminium, as well as a publication of comic books and various exhibition catalogues. We lingered on an artwork that shows the coupling between a god and a horse, already bringing in her womb the fruit of their love. According to him, no one imagined representing that before, and sometimes it is imitated and copied.

The question of "what is imitating, copying and originality?" automatically arises, followed by "does it make the difference between contemporary and classical

conception?” In craft making it is defended that a copy is never fully a copy, since it can never be exactly the same as one done manually. Each puppet maker has her own skills and results to be appreciated for that. If the focus is on the process, rather than the result, the question might shift to the acquisition of knowledge, skill and self-awareness. This point will be developed in Chapter VI.

On another occasion, I was discussing the reasons for an artist not showing the collaborators’ names in front of a very long oil painting on canvas exhibited at the Bentara Budaya gallery. My friend, a batik-maker for fashion designers, suggested that to be valued is the idea – “if there were no idea, that painting would not exist.” Without practical collaborators probably that idea may never become visible, however. According to my friend “the author’s ability is to get the idea and to direct, to find the good people with whom one has a good understanding for working together. Imagine if there would be the list of the name of collaborators, the public would be confused, who is the author? The collaborators have their own recognition because the work is done.” Based on her experience, recognition comes from the private sphere.

Regarding intangible heritage, the recognition by UNESCO not only is public, but also refers to universalistic notions like belonging to humanity. However not differently from the oil painting on canvas exhibited in the gallery, intangible heritage faces resistances to be thought as a totality, as a synergy of activities, despite “the task is to sustain the whole system as living entity” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 164). This is at the very base of the exclusivity of UNESCO’s intangible heritage programme. Wayang kulit making and performing are not exempt from these dynamics, of which the following chapter will provide an example in relation to new experimentations on wayang.

5.

Contemporary arts in the shadow of wayang

Almost at the beginning of my stay in Yogyakarta, more exactly on July 24, 2015, an exhibition took place at the Sewon Art Space. The brochure of the exhibition mentioned the existence of live performances, a sound installation and several kinetic objects, elements that could refer to the wayang puppet theatre. Given the circumstances, this seemed to me to be a must-see event. Without even having a motorcycle – the most common way for people to travel in the region – I ventured aboard a *becak* (rickshaw), whose driver had reached the end of the working day, returning to his home in the village, not very far from the exhibition site, a few kilometres from the city. Once I reached the destination, the exhibition ended up dismantling my expectations of finding some connections with wayang, as it was artistic experiments, the fruit of a month's residence by an Austrian artist who, impressed by the swarm of motorcycles, investigated sensory experience through them. Still, I met some foreign and local artists, with whom I could exchange some initial understandings.

As concerns wayang performance, I remember the first one full night-to-dawn wayang kulit performance I attended after my arrival in Yogyakarta. On August 23, 2015 I received a message on my smartphone "Tonight wayang show at Karang, Tirtohargo, Kretek Bantul" from pak Trinorwanto, a teacher of puppetry at SMKI high school I met on the occasion of a young dalang festival in Bangunjiwo. On the way there from the main street jalan Parangtritis I stopped my motorcycle for information: "at the crossroad turn right, then left. There ask for Karang village, the place of wayang performance". I realized I was asking for information at a police checkpoint. As a result I reached the place of the performance following a policeman, and made my way along a narrow, dark dirt road that cut across an extensive paddy field, barely lit by the stars in the sky. As soon as we arrived, I felt many eyes on us, many small lighthouses that pierced the darkness. How could a visibly foreign woman coming by scooter guided by a policeman to a wayang kulit performance in such a hidden place be mentally collocated? - I read in some faces.

The policeman, in the meantime, wouldn't leave me alone in the midst of all those people until I found my friend. It disappears *hilang!* he said: according to him, the scooter could be stolen. Thus he moved it right next to the stage, under the spotlight. I looked around, in the hope of quickly finding my new friend pak Trinorwanto. Meanwhile, on the stage a duo in elegant Javanese clothes came forward. Standing with microphones in hand, they started to sing over a recorded soundtrack, crackling noisily from the large speakers. I seemed to have been catapulted into a TV or a *dangdut* show.¹ Suddenly, I recognized the male singer, the friendly face I was looking for! The policeman finally could relax, and slowly left the place. As for me, I attended the performance to the end, just before dawn, sitting on the edge of the stage (from my diary, August 23, 2015).

Electric lights, sound amplification, emulation of a television show, *pesinden* checking their mobile phones: all that was at play in the performance. Right from the beginning, I clashed with what I had read in academic publications or articles about changes and hybridization affecting wayang kulit practice in various forms and times. The performance just described lasted the entire night, *malam suntuk*, from 9 pm to 4:30 am. This is the duration of *wayang kulit purwa*, the classical wayang adopted as a reference model. The condensed performances of *wayang padat* as identified by Laurie Jo Sears (1989) are different and last around two hours: for the sake of time, the story content is summarized and the performance is shortened. In this regard the comparative study between wayang kulit styles – namely the classical *purwa*, the condensed *padat* and the all-night *malam suntuk* contemporary-interpretive style – carried out by Kathryn Emerson (2016) in collaboration with Ki Purbo Asmoro, a famous dalang from Solo, is interesting. Without entering into the details of the comparison, what is important to remark upon here is that experimentations and innovations have variously participated in wayang liveliness. Citing Kathryn Emerson's words, "wayang performance practice has always been in a constant, fluid state of innovation" (Emerson 2016: 18). How could it be otherwise?

In the previous chapters we have seen how wayang is part of stories and interrelations of people and places. The close connection between wayang, politics

¹ Dangdut is a popular genre of music in Indonesia.

and the forces variously at play were considered. According to Andrew Weintraub (2004), wayang “power games” penetrate all aspects, the visual, the story, and the music. As such, changes and continuities are performed at the same time. With this chapter, the aim is to retrace and guide the reader along the path of contemporary artistic expressions that refer to the wayang forms. The path is not circumscribed to wayang performance but opens to other means of expression that enrich the study. The focus is especially on wayang aesthetics, since other features like style specificities and/or musical aspects would require a longer period of fieldwork, a deep knowledge of the Javanese language and greater practice in performance. The contemporary arts in the shadow of wayang I have encountered and paid attention to, embrace *wayang kontemporer* as well as visual and performance art.

With *wayang kontemporer*, I refer to the open definition adopted by Miguel Escobar within the framework of the digital Contemporary Wayang Archive (CWA), based on awareness that “the borders between traditional and contemporary wayang, and between wayang and other art forms are sometimes blurry” (cit. Miguel Escobar in <http://cwa-web.org/en/index>, last accessed May 31, 2020). Miguel Escobar described *wayang kontemporer* (previously, at the time of Indonesian independence, addressed as *wayang modern* or *wayang kreasi*) as a way of “making sense of” and speaking about the contemporary world (Escobar 2014a: 13). According to him “*wayang kontemporer* is a combination of *wayang* and something else, in which at least some of the parameters of Javanese wayang kulit (the existence of a puppeteer, stories, music, language, space or puppets), even if completely reinterpreted, still constitute themselves as central” (idem: 16). Wayang kontemporer is then an operative term and/or category, permanently pursuing new creative dynamics that make it possible to extend its framework of action.

In Jan Mrázek’s words: “past and innovation are relative, because wayang has been constantly developing – there are newer and older innovations (as well as innovations that are not new anymore and thus do not feel like innovations)” (Mrázek 2005: 363).

How is wayang in a global context? The ways in which wayang practice was shaped in the colonial era were amply debated by John Pemberton (1994) and Laurie J. Sears (1996) leading to the conclusion that: the efforts of the Dutch occupying

government, scholars and the Javanese elites converged with the Theosophical Society's mission and influence, resulting in shaping and reinvigorating the wayang tradition. Together with political power and governmental agency, educational institutions also had a significant role in standardizing wayang and threatening the diversity in local artistic life (Cohen 2007: 339). According to Clara van Groenendael, the institution of formal school and courses for dalang in the 1920s paved the way for a shift of the role of wayang in society, causing something new in the tradition (Groenendael 1985: 21-43). The implications of these transmissions and transformations would be the theme addressed in the next chapter.

Wayang manipulation for propaganda would be also evident in the postcolonial era. Under Suharto's New Order presidency, wayang was appropriated by the government as an important medium for the transmission of official discourse of order and social uniformity (Pemberton 1994: 16). At that time, many puppeteers who had previously been members of the Lekra, the Institute for People's Culture, associated with the Indonesian Communist Party, were arrested or barred from performing if they did not adopt the official New Order's discourse.

In the decades to come, especially since the 1960s and 1970s, many foreign scholars and artists studied and learned wayang puppetry directly in Java and Bali, while some Indonesian dalang went abroad to give puppetry master classes and courses. Moving across borders, performers and performing objects, wayang traditional forms were crossed along transnational axes creating new hybrids (Cohen 2007). Isaac Cohen examined wayang in global contexts, both in Indonesia and abroad in Europe, without hiding that the collaboration and correspondence between dalang and foreigners give prestige and new stimuli.

Since the 1990s, the introduction of video documentation, radio and television broadcasts shaped the practice of wayang kulit (Kayam 2001) – with the massive influence of the web also added later. The *goro-goro* entertainment interludes – literally meaning “the big upheaval”, the most popular part of the performance, when the puppeteer addresses everyday issues and the local socio-political reality more or less openly, giving voice to ordinary people – was extended

in duration and broadened to encompass rock bands, *campursari* groups,² comedians, on-stage interviews with local public figures, singers and dancers (Mrázek 2005). The *goro-goro* scene conventions are extended to constitute the entire show in *wayang hip-hop* performance, according to Miguel Escobar (2014b). Media bodies, professional associations, diverse market forces patrons, tourism and heritage policies abundantly impact wayang practices.

In a sort of continuity with postcolonialism and critical studies, Sadiyah Boonstra (2014) explored the political dynamics at stake in wayang, particularly in patrimonialisation processes. Ki Enthus Susmono from Tegal in West Java was among the dalang she personally followed during the research. It was indicative according to her that Ki Enthus Susmono also embarked on a political career, which resulted in the Tegal *bupati* election for the 2014-2019 period. but was cut short by his sudden death in 2018.³ Ki Enthus Susmono's wayang works are often taken as examples of innovation, as in the collective publication edited by Jan Mrázek (2002) with the title *Puppet Theater in Contemporary Indonesia*, in which various types of contemporary wayang throughout Indonesia are discussed, among them *wayang ukur*, a wayang experimentation carried out by the Yogyakarta-based artist Ki Sigit Sukasman, as I will develop later.

Notwithstanding its ongoing presence and thus contemporaneity, wayang performance even in the practices of rupture and questioning of emerging generations hardly fits or is considered in the broad category of contemporary art.

Contemporary arts map?

Together with the cities of Bandung and Jakarta, Yogyakarta is one of the centres and engines of art in Indonesia. Some of the best-known and world-travelling artists of Indonesia like Djoko Pekik, Heri Dono, Putu Sutawijaya, Nasirun, Agung Kurniawan, and Eko Nugroho reside in Yogyakarta. The city has numerous institutions that promote and sponsor contemporary art production, such as the Langgeng Art Foundation, Kedai Kebun Forum, the Indonesian Visual Arts Archive, and internationally renowned galleries such as Cemeti Art House and Sangkring Art

² Campursari is a mixture of music genres.

³ Interview with Sadiyah Boonstra (July 22, 2016, Appendix n. 10).

Space, with an increasing number of artistic research residencies available. A city map of Yogyakarta, elaborated by Kedai Kebun Forum, an alternative art space managed independently by artists, shows the galleries, the artist studios and the art centres spread all around urban Yogyakarta. Despite its “alternative” conception and production, the contemporary art map has the purpose of showing contemporary art locations for artists and visitors, both local and international, to encounter. So doing, what contemporary art is or could be considered is negotiated and influenced in various ways.

Places of contemporary arts are located in a kind of “mini-ization”, borrowing John Pemberton’s expression. His questions concerning “tradition” can be transposed to the “contemporary”, with the result: “What are the horizons of such a map, the charting of the cultural imaginary? And how are those horizons systematically secured, through practice, as sittings of ‘tradition/contemporary’ distinguished from that which must remain unsited?” (Pemberton 1994: 12). Moreover, could performance art’s places (if any) be marked on a map?

If the map is “official, objective, and abstract”, a performance like the story is “practical, embodied, and popular”; therefore an asymmetry or a non-encounter would be the result. At the same time, among art forms and expressions, “visual arts have played a significant role in the national development of different Asian countries during the last decades. In Indonesia, the arts have contributed to public discourse on social, political, and educational issues and have reflected on identity and democracy” (Schneider 2017: 135). To this historical and socio-political reason is to be added that visual arts are more profitable in terms of market, notwithstanding that performance is increasingly finding space in galleries and festivals, like graffiti. Mapping “diversity” in all its myriad forms was in colonial power and New Order interests (idem: 13) as unsettlingly it is in UNESCO’s heritage politics, converging as well to ethnographic or smartphone-recording practices: the common denominator is the attempt to fix what is not fixed, a way to “counter” and/or “contour” the changes of life?

Denis Byrne advocated a “counter-mapping” approach which, identifying the map as a technology of power in colonial and post-colonial settings, works to register on maps those elements of the culture and history of marginalized groups

that official heritage mapping practices have neglected to “notice” (Byrne 2008). Map-making or counter-mapping, however, rely on a fixing notion. Performances, like stories, move across, and constantly shift in relation to this fixity, in a kind of “ambiguity”, welding together and opposing, distinguishing and threatening, transporting limits and deforming figures. They seem closer to the line, the contouring area that in drawings two shapes have in common, or the bounding area “created by contacts, the points of differentiation between two bodies are also their common points. Conjunction and disjunction are inseparable in them” (De Certeau 1984: 127). That is, a line can be imagined as an “existential space” and “spatial existence” (Merlau-Ponty 1962; 1964); an “itinerary instead of a fixed point” according to performance studies (Conquergood 2007: 369).

As previously said, the purpose of this chapter is not to be comprehensive, to be a map, an archive or a collection, although there is an unavoidable tendency towards it, but rather to take the reader on a walk through the contemporary arts in various ways related to wayang kulit in Yogyakarta. So in the “Java Art Mecca” (Poshyananda 2000), every week, if not every day or several on the same day, there are art events to be held. During the two years of research, the opportunities to get to know local and foreign artists, and to exchange ideas with them would be many. I met and accompanied artists related or directly involved in the performance of wayang kulit in various ways, such as puppets, puppeteers, musicians and singers, but also visual and performance artists. I tried to find out the interrelations of the wayang with other contemporary artistic expressions. These encounters proved to be very fruitful, both to expand and to deepen some of the arguments about wayang and contemporary art.

At the encounter of wayang and contemporary art

Talking about the encounters between wayang and contemporary arts in Yogyakarta, the afore-mentioned Ki Sigit Sukasman and his innovations in wayang must be introduced here. The World Encyclopedia of Puppetry Art (WEPA) enters Ki Sigit Sukasman (1937–2009), a Javanese artist from Yogyakarta, as the creator of *wayang ukur*, meaning “carved, measured” wayang. The son of a batik artist, in his youth he played with *wayang kertas*, that is, wayang made of paper. Later he

studied drawing wayang puppets together with other arts at the Indonesian Academy of Visual Arts, *Akademi Seni Rupa Indonesia* (ASRI). After graduation in 1962, he worked as an interior designer in Jakarta, and then joined the Indonesian delegation to the New York World Fair in 1964 where the best artists of the generation exhibited to international audiences. He spent ten years in the Netherlands painting and working as a dishwasher, and in 1974 he returned to Yogyakarta where he mentored emerging visual and performing artists. Ki Sigit Sukasman's innovations in puppet carving made his art works of wayang ukur prized by collectors. His interpretations of demons, clowns, and other figures in multiple images and lights of varied colours onto the screen were visually interesting productions. His shadow theatre performances presented at the Indonesian Wayang Week festival in 1999 and at the UNIMA Festival in Germany in 2000 combined puppets and dancers' shadows.

Ki Sigit Sukasman had many avant-garde disciples. One of the best-known is the artist Heri Dono, who joined and studied with him between 1987 and 1988. Born 1960 in Jakarta, Heri Dono attended visual art studies at ISI Yogyakarta from 1980 to 1987 until dropping out. Wayang became inspirational, both visually and performatively, for creating expressionistic wayang figures eventually performed by trained dalang. Currently living in Yogyakarta, Heri Dono does contemporary installation and performance art, in collaboration with artists from different countries of the world. His art works are characterized by a particular combination of the locality of Yogyakarta, the device of wayang and comics, such as *wayang imajinatif* (1986) and *wayang legenda* (1988); *wayang top Bali* (1991); *wayang: from Gods to Bart Simpson*; the installation *puppets watch puppet* (1995); *wayang legenda Indonesia baru* (2000); *gamelan goro-goro* (2001); the shadow-play *interrogation* (2002).

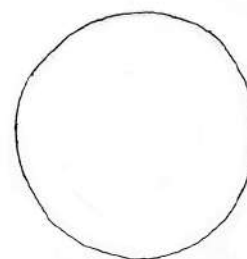
Wayang aesthetics and characters are often at the heart of visual works, used as motifs for elaborated handmade batik or as a theme for collective and solo exhibitions. Examples are the 2015 "Wayang" and the 2016 "Goro-goro" exhibitions organized by Forum Silaturakhim Wedangan Yogyakarta (FSWY) at Pendhapa Art Space for the first month of the Javanese calendar.

FORUM SILATURAKHIM "WERANGAN" MENGEKAR
PAMERAN SENI RUPA
WAYANG

PEMBUKAAN
14 OKTOBER 2015
PULU 10.00 WIB
14-21 OKTOBER 2015
PENDHAPA ART SPACE



Meanwhile, the very humble and calm painter V.A. Sudiro exhibited his most recent paintings of Semar in a solo exhibition "Samar-samar Semar Sudiro" held at Bentara Budaya on November 17-24, 2015. The title plays on words: "samar-samar" meaning uncertain or equivocal is in reference to Semar and partly to the quiet Sudiro himself.



**BOTH FEMALE AND MALE,
BY THE FACE YOUNG AND OLD,
ROUND IS THE BODY
REPRESENTING THE WORLD;
COVERED WITH A CLOTH
BLACK AND WHITE
INSIDE OUT,
FULL EMPTY
FUTURE PAST
SHADOW LIGHT.**

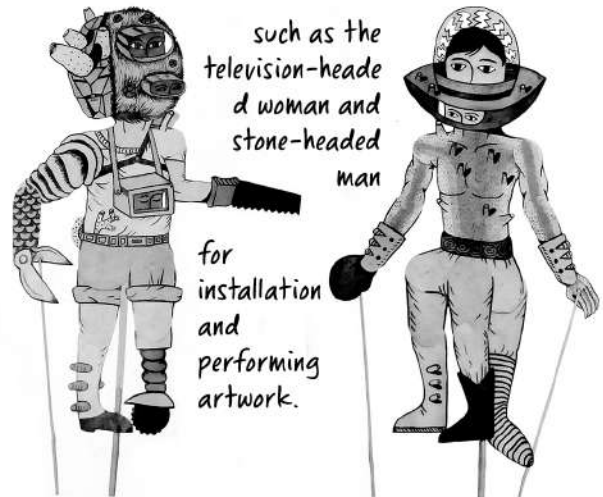


V.A. Sudiro approaches the wayang world bringing it closer to ordinary life and transcendent dimensions at the same time. Kejawen practitioners especially admire the figure of Semar, also named Sang Hyang Semar, Bathara Ismaya or Kyai Lurah Semar. “As a Nusantara person who was born and lives in Java I see the spiritual peak is in the figure of Semar” – Sudiro said. The term “Nusantara” is today used in Indonesia as a synonym of the Indonesian archipelago. Actually it is an Old Javanese word that results from the juxtaposition of “nusa” which literally means island, the place inhabited, with “antara”, which means between. The two words together mean “between islands, islands in between” or “outer islands, other islands”, referring to maritime Southeast Asia under the Majapahit Empire’s sphere of influence. The 14th century definition of the term Nusantara described Majapahit’s vassal areas (in the *Pararaton* manuscript), while in 1920 the term was proposed by the Indonesian-Dutch nationalist Setiabudi to name – in order to avoid any reference to the Indies – what was to become the independent country of Indonesia.

Wayang characters and performance also stimulated the visual artist Eko Nugroho, born in Yogyakarta 1977, to create surreal figures

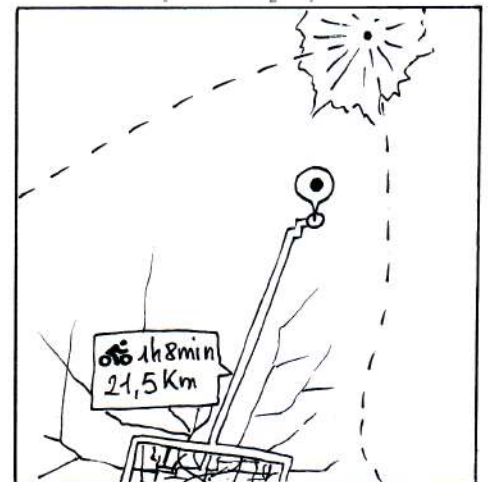
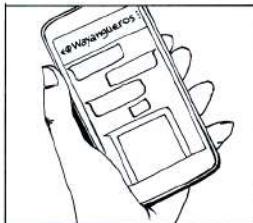


such as the television-headed woman and stone-headed man



for installation and performing artwork.

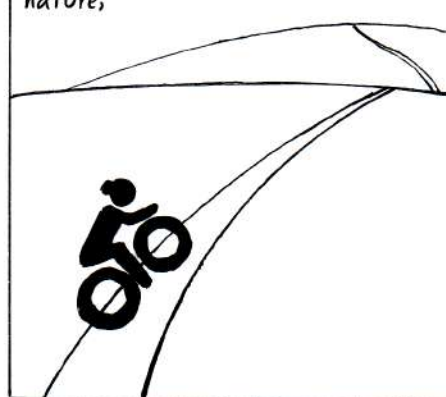
Wayang bocor which means "leaking" to suggest the horror genre of the show he created in collaboration with other artists, among which the young puppeteer Ki Catur "Benyek" Kuncoro, performed at the beginning of the rainy season on November 30, 2015, in a mountain village.



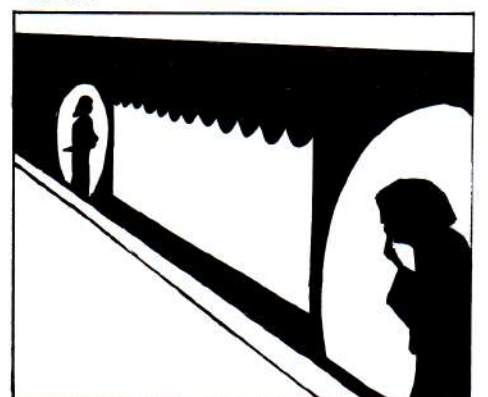
The awful immersion into the alienating traffic



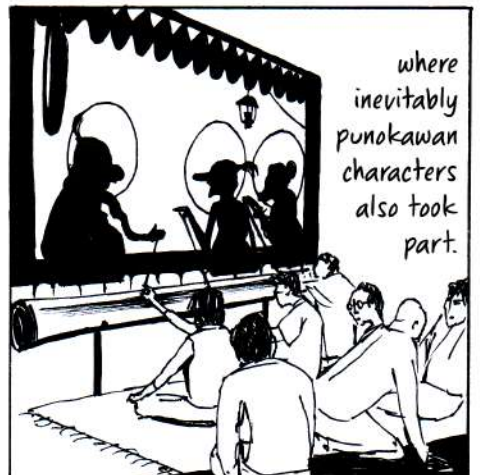
was suddenly replaced by the silent nature,



the perfect atmosphere for a horror event!

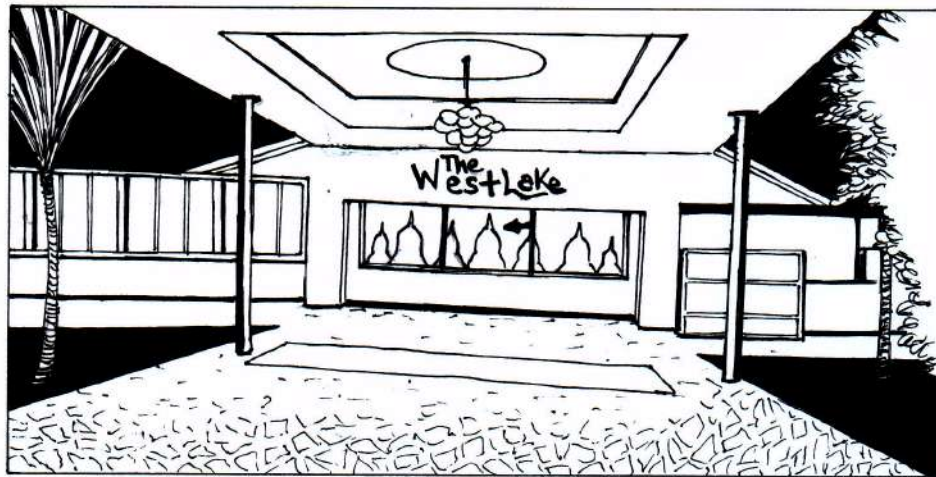


It combines the obscene and horrific, the light and the dark, fantasies and daily life, matter and shadow, the hidden and the exposed in a world represented in a piece of cloth used for screen as a space in between, a stage for humankind (Swastika 2009: 26)



where inevitably punokawan characters also took part.

The afore-mentioned young puppeteer Ki Catur “Benyek” Kuncoro, born 1976 and based in Yogyakarta, performs both classical and innovative wayang. He can play all night long wayang kulit purwa in the southern square of the sultan’s palace, as well as experiment and conceive new forms, such as *wayang hip-hop* – a show conceived especially to appeal to young spectators. On April 18, 2016 I had the chance to see *wayang hip-hop* performed at the Westlake Resort, on the west side of Yogyakarta Ring Road. A female singer, a comedian, two male hip-hop singers and a DJ accompanied Ki Catur “Benyek” Kuncoro as the puppeteer. Hip-hop and remixed songs, wayang characters and superheroes, lighting and video projections were on stage.



YO YO
WAYANG HIP-HOP
SALAM BUDAYA
WAYANG HIP-HOP
ENTERTAINING ART

FOR ANY MISTAKE
PLEASE
FORGIVE US,
THIS IS JUST
ENTERTAINMENT

LET'S FEEL THE
SAME*



* my translation from Indonesian language

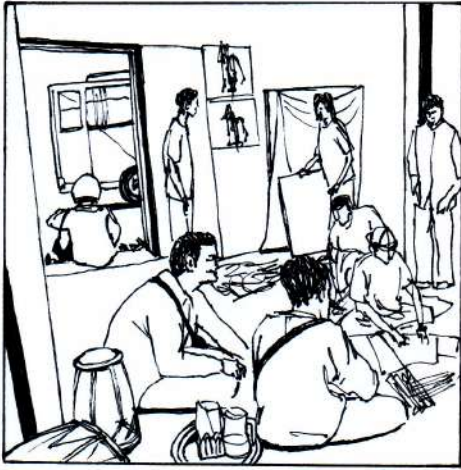
This is a strategy in the wayang puppetry endeavour to go global, in a contemporary way. The decreasing public interest in wayang encourages the young dalang Ki Catur “Benyek” Kuncoro to improve *wayang hip-hop*, since according to him wayang kulit should also entertain.

A similar approach moves Aneng Kriswantoro, born in Yogyakarta in 1980, dalang and professor at pedalangan ISI Yogyakarta to create and experiment. In an academic publication, Aneng Kriswantoro (2012) argues that together with the development of science and technology, wayang must be able to compete and survive. This endeavour is made by the artists always working to bring up various wayang forms, with innovations that are adapted to the development of technology. By way of example, he mentions the cases of *wayang sandonsa* and *wayang ukur*, as well as dalang Ki Enthus Susmono and Ki Widiprayitno. Aneng Kriswantoro himself experimented to combine *wayang kulit* and *wayang golek* (two-dimensional and three-dimensional puppets) in a single performance, in which the character of Abimanyu⁴ from the Mahabharata epic is reinterpreted in a new light. According to him the intention is twofold: to stimulate a new imagination both for the creators and the audience; and to bring out the Javanese moral values, gaining enlightenment and knowledge for life.

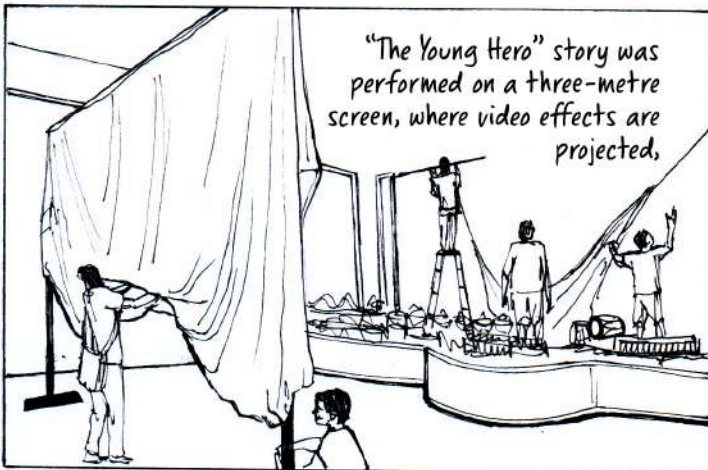
Aneng Kriswantoro also conceived *wayang bioskop* partly inspired by “Kalasinema”, a series of *wayang padat* prepared and packaged in 90 minutes of duration specifically for television, showing mostly famous puppeteers. According to Aneng Kriswantoro, “the people now work on time: at 7 in the morning they must be ready to work until 3 or 5 in the afternoon. On the other side, they no longer consider wayang as the art of guidance and order, so if there is a night-long wayang performance, they just watch it until midnight, 1 am maximum; then tired, they go

⁴ Abimanyu is the son of Arjuna, one of the five Pandawa brothers, and Subadra. He has thirteen other siblings. In wayang, Abimanyu has a subtle *halus* character, both his behavior and words are bright, his heart hard, and he is high responsible and brave. His knight education was taught directly by his father Arjuna, while his mystical knowledge was obtained from his grandfather Bagawan Abiyasa. Abimanyu died in the Baratayuda war after all his brothers died first. When he knew that all his brothers died, Abimanyu advanced alone into the middle of Korawa’s formation. The enemies rained arrows on Abimanyu's body until he fell from his horse. It is said that when he requested Dewi Utari, he swore he did not yet have a wife, and if he was married he was ready to die under various weapons during the Baratayuda war. At that time Abimanyu was instead married to Dewi Siti Sundari.

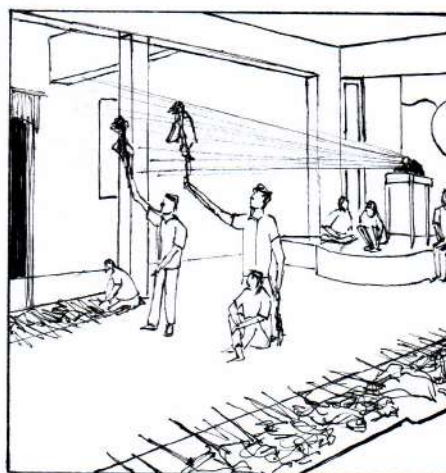
home. After that no one is watching. Since the society mindset changed, wayang itself also must change”.



On October 8, 2015 wayang bioskop was to be held in the city of Semarang for the project "Fantastic wayang at school" sponsored by a bank. We reached the place by a hired minibus for pedalangan ISI Yogyakarta students.



while ten pedalangan students manipulate wayang kulit puppets, both in classical and new design.



Later, at an open discussion about wayang bioskop held at Pendopo Art Space, Aneng Kriswantoro explained that “Young people now do not demand wayang; it is almost dominated by elders, and then I feel that if no one thinks about the young generation, the generations of wayang lovers later will be cut off. How can wayang be rooted into the young heart? The mindset of young people is to have fun, different from the parents. For example when the youth watch wayang they say: “I’m sleepy, I cannot understand the language”. Wayang bioskop can be in English, Indonesian, Javanese, whatever language, it doesn’t matter, but the story is still wayang, adapted to the short duration of a movie. How to arrange eight hours to become a one-hour performance? For sure there are changes, pro contra... actually I am probably the youngest among pedalangan professors and I am always close to the students and I also explore wayang itself a lot. At a certain moment the students are like this “cie .. cieee..” [an expression used to tease a couple, make people blush] – they were focused and involved. From that, I feel “oh this is interesting”.⁵

Nanang Rakhmat Hidayat, another ISI Yogyakarta professor of the Faculty of Media Arts Record, runs a family-owned welcoming *warung* – small café-restaurant in Indonesia – named Garuda House nearby the university. There sometimes I had fried rice and ginger tea as well as interesting conversations with him. He is an enthusiast of *garuda*, the eagle with the heraldic shield on the chest, the emblem of the Republic of Indonesia and its founding *Pancasila*, five philosophical principles. Garuda was the subject of his master’s thesis and later inspired him to collecting objects in the shape of garuda that Nanang Rakhmat Hidayat himself often commissions. In 2016, he had the idea of creating *wayang garuda*, that is, a wayang kulit puppet depicting garuda together with five other wayang kulit puppets depicting the five big islands, *lima pulau*, of the Indonesian archipelago. He found wayang to be a great medium to spread Pancasila principles that according to him are declining.

⁵ Aneng Kriswantoro’s speech registered at an open discussion about wayang bioskop held at Pendopo Art Space, Yogyakarta (December 17, 2015).

At the forum for retired and Indonesian national army and police (TNI-POLRI) of Yogyakarta branch management, students from each of the five Indonesian islands performed wayang garuda (October 25, 2016).

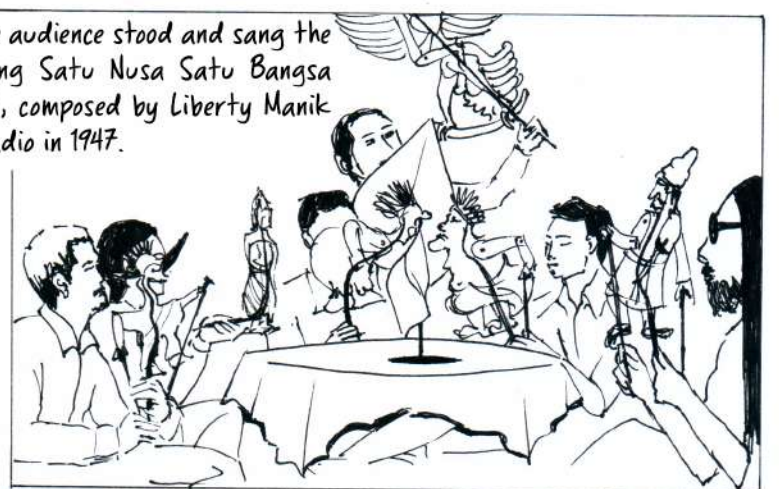
For twenty minutes of performance, the students improvised conversations about cultures in their local languages,



to which the motto of the Indonesian state Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, or "unity in diversity" provided the conclusion.



At the very end, all the audience stood and sang the Indonesian national song Satu Nusa Satu Bangsa (One State one Nation), composed by Liberty Manik and first played via radio in 1947.



SATU NUSA
SATU BANGSA
SATU BAHASA KITA
TANAH AIR
PASTI JAYA
UNTUK SELAMA LAMANYA

INDONESIA PLUSAKA
INDONESIA TERCINTA
NUSA BANGSA
DAN BAHASA
KITA BELA BERSAMA

Nanang Rakhmat Hidayat explained that he wanted the performance to be a sign of dialogue and tolerance. Liberty Manik's song was the crowning glory of an event all under the banner of nationalism, from the setting to the wayang performance. Liberty Manik was a composer and music teacher at ISI Yogyakarta. He completed doctoral studies in music at the University of Berlin. Born in North Sumatra, Liberty Manik together with Petrus Voorhoeve compiled a systematic inventory of Batak manuscripts in German collections (Manik 1973). In the cultural polemic which emerged in Indonesia between the late 1930s and the mid-1950s, Liberty Manik was among the cosmopolitan intellectuals who appealed for the adoption of universal and modern cultural attitudes and modes of expression against the "nativist thinkers" and others associated with the Taman Siswa schools and the theosophical movement who argued for the combination of the peaks of Indonesia's regional forms with selected foreign elements (McGraw 2013: 53-54).

As mentioned in Chapter II, wayang as heritage can be linked to expressions of nationalism or patriotism, and this case makes it explicit. The myth of the harmonious Indonesian people developed in Chapter III is performed through dialogues, not in Indonesian as a common language, but in their own local language. The tolerance of differences is staged. Is it to protect and strengthen the capacities within individuals and communities? For resisting tensions and conflicts? The limits of tolerance of cultural differences arise upholding universal moral standards or human rights (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 182).

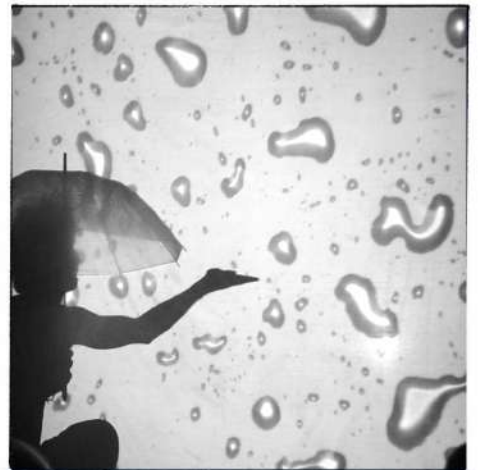
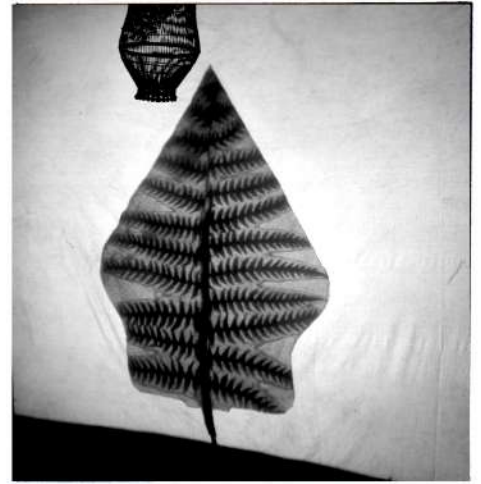
Wayang garuda with the five islands was also performed by Ki Catur "Benyek" Kuncoro for the opening exhibition of "ENTHUSiasm:susmono", which occurred on the occasion of the "Wayang day": November 7, the date of UNESCO's proclamation as Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. The exhibition held in the gallery of ISI Yogyakarta complex displayed Ki Enthus Susmono's *wayang kreasi*: a new design of wayang puppets, of both wood and leather, some replicas of which are collected and kept in museums abroad. Ki Enthus Susmono is very popular even among the young generations, and it is not by chance that he is named "dalang superstar". Recently he defended the existence of a

specific Tegal wayang style, of which he launched a book based on his own research about it on the occasion of the exhibition.

The “ENTHUSiasm:susmono” brochure reports:

“The dalang world looks “happy”, smiling proudly. How could it be otherwise, as in conjunction with UNESCO recognition of wayang as a world masterpiece of oral and intangible heritage of humanity, the regeneration of dalang grows rapidly through various ages (...) what is exhilarating again, in this era of free expression and creation, are the genres of new wayang out of the box which penetrate into contemporary thinking and are courageous enough to fight, searching for their own audience. It is not relevant anymore to question between what is tradition or modern. What we consider tradition is creative and innovative at that time, even if many people strive to preserve it until now” (*my translation from Indonesian*).

New wayang expressions are also experimented with international and multidisciplinary collaborations. The art company Gnayaw, for example, inspired by traditional wayang kulit, works with puppets, theatre and music.



Gnayaw makes shadow puppetry and, having a special concern for environment, its performances often contemplate ecological problems, like in wayang sampah laut, meaning marine litter.



Gnayaw is the reverse of wayang or wayang spelled backwards. According to one of its members, the Spanish artist Elena alias Clementina Kura-Kura:

“even though none of us is from Indonesia, we were clear that the name must have some reference to Indonesia, Java or any cultural aspect that at the moment was joining us. I was studying puppetry, while Victor was studying music composition, both at ISI Solo at that time. Then we became more familiar with the music and the puppet show, even if at that time we didn’t know in which direction we were going to work. It was clear anyway that there would be influence from what we were living at the moment. It was clear also that we were not going to do traditional wayang. The idea of reversing the name came out not in the way that we are going to turn over the wayang. Rather symbolically, there is simply an influence. We will not do the same as they are doing here, for many reasons, first because it is not an aspiration nor possible, to arrive and in half a year to expect to do what the dalang do all their life. It is like a little homage and recognition of where we are, but also making it clear that our aspiration was not to do exactly the same”.⁶

The artwork *wayang sampah laut*, however, according to Clementina Kura-Kura, has provoked opposite reactions:

“on one hand, young people, distant from the wayang world loved it and were very interested because we talked about ecology, using their own symbols. Meanwhile on the other hand the people of pedalangan world were horrified: we were using their elements, blaspheming by mixing them with garbage. We have taken Roro Kidul, the queen of the sea, who is not a wayang character, and we have borrowed her story. She became a plastic monster, basically the result of mutation for having eaten plastic. For us the idea was precisely to use their symbols for the message: beautiful and important things must be cared for to continue to be so. I spent like three months thinking ‘we can’t do it then, we are offending’. They [the pedalangan world] know to be exclusive, then it is very difficult for them to understand that this heritage is.. well, let’s see what is intended for heritage of humanity? If it’s for humanity I want to learn it. Here if you want to learn it you have to be one of them, become a dalang and do the whole process of training, you cannot learn only the technique, because it is more than a technique, for them”.⁷

In this case, Clementina Kura-Kura probably clashed with those who feel to be the holders of a knowledge and a practice, and don’t like to be deprived of what they consider their prerogative, even less if subjected to changes of meanings and modalities. This interview’s excerpts can give an idea of how uses of culture can have

⁶ Interview with Clementina Kura-Kura and Damián Bojorque (July 15, 2016, Appendix n.10).

⁷ idem.

equivocating, if not conflicting, results. Despite the intentions being different, some people belonging to the *pedalangan* world get offended attending that particular *wayang* performance, since it crossed the boundaries of the world they identify with, borrowing some aspects, altering others and placing them in a different context. The relationship between cultural assets and those who produce them, and identified with them, is altered; at the same time that same world raises the boundaries with the others, appearing or being felt as of exclusivity, that is excluding those who do not follow the same path.

Appeals to “heritage of humanity” despite being an attractive notion, leads nowhere else – Clementina Kura-Kura also hesitates about it, wondering ‘what is intended for heritage of humanity?’ The universalized world heritage “expands the beneficiaries to encompass all of humanity” and produces “the asymmetry between the diversity of those who produce cultural assets and the humanity to which those assets come to belong as world heritage giving to this commons its paradoxical character” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 161). As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has argued, the paradox is that while the candidates for world heritage recognition are defined as traditions, the heritage of humanity opens to interventions that are alien to it (idem: 169).

Different approaches however exist among individuals of the *pedalangan* world. Professor Aneng Kriswantoro, mentioned above in relation to *wayang bioskop* creation and other forms, defends the importance for artists seeking for innovations, even if they do not know how the audience and the other puppeteers will receive them. Nevertheless he recognizes that some circles or established communities of *dalang* cannot welcome innovations, considered as damaging to the already existing system of which they are part (Kriswantoro 2012: 150). Regarding *wayang hip-hop*, for example, Miguel Escobar recorded two different audience opinions: *keren* “cool” and *kering* “barren” (Escobar 2014a: 481). Regarding *wayang ukur* as well, there exist divergent views among *dalang*, as presented in the documentary film *Memayu*

Hayuning Bawana: mempercantik keindahan dunia,⁸ directed by Dinas Ari Sandi, about the artist Ki Sigit Sukasman, the creator of wayang ukur, as mentioned above.

On the basis of these tensions, Tim Byard-Jones, a gamelan player since 1985 and veteran of the Indonesian government's darmasiswa scholarship, divided the dalang universe into those that experiment and introduce new elements to the interpretation of traditional stories and performance practice; and the upholders of the "great tradition" of classical wayang purwa (Byard-Jones 2001: 46). Next to these polarized opinions and attitudes to wayang practices, according to my experience another attitude animates the debate on contemporary wayang: those dalang that found wayang innovations as necessary and unavoidable – "must be there and cannot be denied" – even if those same innovations are considered as merely temporary, since dalang often, and mainly after a certain fame is achieved, return to the traditional/classical. According to this vision, it occurs for two main reasons: on the one hand, innovation is a way for the young puppeteers especially to make ends meet and try to become known; on the other hand the traditional/classical wayang is solid, thick in comparison to whatever innovation may appear. As if the classical itself is timeless and unchanging, it is with difficulty that what was innovative throughout the years becomes considered classical. In Chapter VII we are going to see that the approach to innovations in *wayang banjar* is different: the institutional discourse seems to encourage innovations, while practitioners themselves are retained from them in a sort of respect both for the practice and people's expectations.

Performance art – wayang

Emblematic, both for the theme and the modalities and the place, was the open discussion on performance art and activism, which took place on September 29, 2015. Organized by and at the Indonesian Visual Art Archive IVAA, a private non-profit association with a visual arts library and archiving system, but also a space for discussion and debate (Morelli 2014: 114), IVAA is concerned with restoring and

⁸ The title means "Beautifying the world", according to the belief that wayang performances do similarly to flowers. The documentary film is available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7jUyv7jRF64>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

preserving the memory of modern and contemporary visual arts in Indonesia, and is also active in research projects on artists' collections and their creative process. Feisal Arahmaiani and Iwan Wijono were the artists invited to present some of their works to be discussed and debated with the young artists participating in the workshop. Through these more structured, but mostly informal, meetings I had the opportunity to exchange and deepen ideas and impressions.

On this occasion, among the many performances realized, Feisal Arahmaiani showed a video art work in which she makes use of wayang shadows to address women's issues. "Here again is my struggle as a woman who feels uncomfortable in the patriarchal system: I don't hate the men but I'm questioning the system. Again the way is looking to the ancient tradition. I took the Ramayana story and through the character of Sita my aim is to question the system, the patriarchal system. Sita was kidnapped, but her fidelity must be proven. She must pass through the fire to prove her purity. Well, what about Rama when he was alone? Was he also tested? Simple, but serious, the work is wayang kontemporer, made by dried chili leaves, very easy to crack. Poetry accompanies it, written in Malay, English and Javanese. Here I want to make a smack to Rama who is always mythicized. Who is Sita? Thrown away, now Sita is rediscovered".⁹

If in this case the wayang is explicitly involved as an art form, in Iwan Wijono's case the connection is almost absent. Even if not directly referring to the wayang world, I had many occasions for discussion with Iwan Wijono and I believe it is interesting to report some extracts of a conversation we had. A few days before leaving Indonesia, on June 25, 2017, I proposed recording our conversation, as in a sort of interview, as a way of addressing issues previously discussed together. Some considerations and critical issues rest on a vision that is certainly personal, but also refer to a collective thinking that I also found resounded in *kejawen* speeches, as in the wayang environment and beyond. Here comes the interest to delve deeper. The conversation below, which I have personally transcribed and translated from the Indonesian language, also reports my interventions, not for the illusion of the

⁹ The animated film "Sita sings the blues" (2008) redeems the figure of Sita, the narrating voice.

untouched, but precisely for the awareness that one's presence invariably conditions events.

In conversation with Iwan Wijono

GP How did you get closer to performance art, I mean in your life?

IW Well, at the beginning I didn't plan to be a performance artist and actually until now I do not only make performance art. At that time, only through performance, not exhibition, installation or writings, the activist students could make political ideas to access the public directly. Now it can be through social media. The newspapers did not necessarily accept us, since we were still students. Therefore we went directly to a public space and by performance we could directly propagandize to the public and be very effective – the only risk was with the police or the military. At the end many people made performances. It was because the Suharto regime was undemocratic, monopolizing. At that time what made me very angry was that they began deforesting and art for justice was prohibited, as was writing as well; everything was only for entertaining under Suharto.

GP Did you and your friends call your protest a performance, at that time?

IW We think it is a performance. Performance art began to be widely known in the 1990s. Previously many people participated in happenings or experimental art, but many journalists or writers didn't understand it, until now they write "theatrical action". Many writers or journalists have little knowledge of art. But not us, we cannot do theatre, because we cannot act actually. How can they say "theatrical action" in their respective media? I cannot do theatre; I cannot act. Everything is serious for me, in the street or not. This is real art, something happening, even without preparation or training. Most of the previous generation of artists followed experimental art, ethnic art; we follow performance art, which in the demonstration era starts to be well known. Truthfully performance art had power, special and mighty power at that time, to overthrow Suharto's regime. We can somewhat claim that in part started from our movement in Yogyakarta.

Actually there was no plan to be a performance artist. Then, what made me be considered a performance artist were invitations from abroad, from 1999 until now.

We usually performed on the road, politically, we had time and many ideas to make political works; meanwhile in performance art festival, indoors, it was limited: this cannot be, that cannot. It was a bit difficult initially, because in the international festival, I was the youngest artist, watching the famous senior artists, conceptual performance art, professors, big names, I do not understand. What is that? ...aaah... oh, so performance art is like this...

In 2000 I made the first performance festival in Indonesia, in Jakarta; then I made performance club, festivals, events, workshops, seminars, publications, since 2003 until now. In the end, I do not paint much or do other work; I make performance and social work, until now. Art or not, performance or not, is not important anymore, except what is contextual, all media, all programmes that may be made, just make it, like that. That's a lesson from performance, becoming aware of the process growing from performance art.

GP Where were you first invited?

IW Japan, then Mexico, Europe, various places. Then many seminars and discussions, so I knew the development of performance art. Finally I create my own ideas: how to be contextual in a festival room or in social space. At an international festival, making a very obvious political work is often boring. How to start? With an idea. In a more academic and contemporary forum it is like that. How to create a political but also contemporary work? Have an idea and focus there. Learning is by practice, not with Western theory. Yes, I read it, after many practices I read and discuss. Then finally I write down and understand how the roots of performative body are from Indonesia Nusantara and how it relates to performance art.

GP How, according to you?

IW Well, it is interesting because almost all performance artists in Indonesia or arts in Indonesia are indeed from academic people and art renewal here is from the Western process. That is, from the Western art history view, the history of Indonesian art should remain a tradition, but there is no such relationship. Later I understood there is a relationship with Indonesian tradition, because here everything occurs with performative body, from birth to death. Everything is very

performative. As we are from a society of traditions and become contemporary people, how today can we use the body to be medium of art? We are traditional people, we are modern people, we are contemporary people at the same time. If in Western countries it is as if tradition has already gone – there is modern and contemporary only – here everything is happening at the same time: never-ending transition. In the workshop, I say that the performer is the creator, his body the medium, and his life the stage and gallery. That's my version as a Nusantara performer.

GP I do not fully understand. Saying something is performative – it is like what?

IW Like this. For example, there is someone giving birth, perhaps assisted by the traditional *dukun*¹⁰ of old times. Once the baby comes out, the dukun reads the mantra, continues with the cutting and it already starts to be performative, because it is different from just giving birth. As soon he takes the knife, says the mantra, gives flowers, brings the hoe in front of the house on the right side, puts it there, then places the oil lamp on the top, this is performative. Before and after is not performative, that one is performative. The potency is different. There is rituality. Something is happening. At a marriage, for example, the bride should step on an egg, like this it is performative. Some moments are rewarded with a symbol or a gesture. In our life, from birth to death, tradition is all very performative. Well, is there really no relation when we make tradition like that and being contemporary artist? Really is it only influenced by Fluxus, from the West, from whatever? So we are influenced by Western art because of academic people, but we can make a relation from tradition to action. There is a performative tradition, we become contemporary, we use the body in contemporary action as Nusantara artists. Something different from a society that really does not have a performative tradition. Developed countries have very few performative traditions. Performance people, well, are from academia and practising.

¹⁰ A dukun is a shaman, traditional healer, spirit medium, and soothsayer. The dukun is highly respected and somewhat feared in kejawen or kebatinan belief in Java, even in the most orthodox Muslim-dominated areas.

GP Then, why do you always say Nusantara (Archipelago) artist? When did the word Nusantara begin to be used frequently? Various people prefer to use the word Nusantara rather than Indonesia, right. Why?

IW Nusantara is more multidimensional, richer than Indonesia. The Europeans, the English people first, said Indonesia. Nusantara was indeed recognized since the XIV century. Multidimensional society, spiritual people, so the ancient Nusantara people understand that everyday life is full of rituals, with traditions that have to be followed, respect for nature, respect for culture, must be preserved. Therefore, it is richer than Indonesia. Indonesia is still very young, not yet a hundred years of Indonesia. Nusantara is wider, richer and more dynamic, because multidimensional. People of the past for sure they can dance, sing. Everyone is an artist, everyone is a spiritualist, all peasants, everyone has the land, and everyone works on the ground, and everybody is collective, with the same awareness. Nusantara is like that. You want to embrace the spell, because nature is the subject, while now you can see the nature is the object. It's very different, like richer and more humble; because of the multidimensional awareness the people are calmer, because they not only think, work and make money, but how this should harmonize with the universe.

GP How can you express the spiritual side? I mean, if I'm not mistaken, in your art there is often something seeking spirituality, or not?

IW The spiritual matter in performance? A spiritual activity in contemporary discourse is not just making artworks; the aura is different if we start with a different consciousness as well. There's an effect there. It is very different with the academic only and the very contemporary, the spiritual awareness is different. Multidimensional awareness in the performance comes out different for sure; a different aura comes out. If you look at the performance of Singaporeans, the Japanese, you can just see the absurdity, maybe it is the contemporary, the conceptual that is pursued. Well, not everyone. An artwork can be contextual and multidimensional, that is, from Nusantara descendants and contemporary art. I am sad to see art here; it is very, very trendy pop. How local art is contemporary is less pronounced, trendy art, almost similar like everywhere. Yes it depends on each person, but the majority of art is like this now.

GP In your own path, from the 1990s until now, how do you see your changes?

IW It is more... making simpler action, the message is easily understood. When I was in China, and Taiwan, I invited the audience in a festival to perform as Asian body, to burn incense, thinking about goodness and how we can unite for it. We hold strongly each other hands, should not separate. Simple. I got the idea there in China and the participants were very enthusiastic. The first time, when I was invited to Tokyo, I still didn't have an idea like that. I was confused, because usually I only performed going down the street. Go to the international festival for what? Now it is simpler. At the next workshop in Jakarta, I want to invite participants to gather for a human box. Layers of people, four above another four, above another four: human beings mashed like stuff, like robots or whatever, fried bananas, cakes. It is to make photo-performance work, but the shoots must be very fast, because it is heavy. That is: very heavy, indeed politics is like this. I can get an idea quickly; it's spiritual too.

When a young artist, when I was young too, it was like I wanted to talk too much, I wanted to talk about everything, too many things and the audience was confused too – what is it? Well, if it's easy to see good performance by other people or made on your own, it became just easier to give a workshop too.

GP I saw that in your latest performances you often use Javanese clothes.

IW It's like antithesis, from contemporary art in general, I began to want to know how identity is sharp. How contemporary local art is emerging amid the global. I grew up with Middle Eastern belief; I got into a discussion with American liberal culture. How am I a Javanese man? And the art is like what? If I want to pray with Arab language, I watch movies, American movies, the clothes must be American style, and hanging out is liberal like American, but I am a Javanese, to be a contemporary artist is like what? There I try to open up my identity and my society, the Javanese culture, in the present work. On July 22nd I will perform in Gunung Kidul. There is an exhibition and I am invited. I want to make a huge Semar made of *tiwul*,¹¹ four people holding it, all in Javanese clothes. It will be Semar-tiwul, Semar

¹¹ Tiwul is a Gunung Kidul dish made from cassava.

Handayani – Handayani is the well-being identity of the Gunung Kidul.¹² There will be a man and a woman in Javanese clothes: the woman holds incense while dancing a Javanese dance; while the man with a megaphone sings ancient Java cries. When we reach the place, we read the ritual prayer, the prayer of prosperity in front of the Semar figure. After that we meditate, sit and the tiwul is divided among the people. Therefore the classical tradition is also developed into a contemporary version. Because often the tradition became just touristic, if contemporary it became directly Western, there is no middle there. All is touristic. Kasongan village is not a cultural village: it is tourism and tourism. Even for contemporary, it is like it cannot or does not connect, there is no context; it is not contextual.

GP But from my narrow perspective I see that in the international context, what is evaluated now in arts is the local.

IW That's really a funny thing. It is like here many artists probably in order to be seen as contemporary or to be accepted into the contemporary world, became Western; in reality the West itself wants to see what contemporary art became like in the local context. It's just hard to discuss.

GP With artists or with whom?

IW Yes with them, with critics, writers, they have already often made a book of contemporary Indonesian art, already written about the best contemporary art, the most expensive, the one in the market, received everywhere, museums or galleries or already with a position here, like fixed. Yes, it's difficult, there is a conflict of discourse. From my view, often I'm not there, but I feel better if I'm not there, no problem. The funny thing, do you know what it is, I often go directly abroad, here I am not enough connected. Directly by German people who even need to teach or workshops, or seminars, or writing or performance. ISI never invited me. Like if the big ones here do not need me, but abroad they need me. That's better. They do not connect with me, I also do not. I do not know until when.

¹² "Gunung Kidul Handayani" is also a well-known song composed by Manthous, who popularized Indonesian *campursari* music – a mixture of musical genres. Born in Playen village in Gunung Kidul, Manthous founded the campursari music group *Maju Lancar Gunung Kidul* in 1990s with relatives and colleagues from Gunung Kidul.

GP Are there different criteria?

IW I don't know. If there is an invitation, that is directly to me, not through a curator. Maybe they see me not saleable, not good to sell. Overseas they look at me interested. I don't know. Different criteria, it's possible.

GP Let's go back to tourism. In Yogya, as you said, touristic villages are growing here and there, art and cultural programmes as well, kethoprak, wayang, parade, very active, right. How do you see it from your perspective?

IW The problem is that it is not integral. It's just like entertainment and touristic, it is not an integral part of that full society. It only supports some parts of the economy, supports part of the aesthetics entertainment of people, but it's not fully part of, very few people feel it is integral with them. Because it has shifted, it's not fully part of the culture of the people, but became more entertainment and tourism only. It's complex because if the ancient stories of wayang are developed to become contemporary it's like they reject the conventions, then contemporary wayang, of various kind, the digital one, it's like its own. So, people of this wayang are not close to that one, yes, that one also is not close to the other one. There is wayang hip-hop, wayang bocor, wayang something, that one is not close to the ancient wayang, the audience is not close, it is different. This one is closer to the Western world. This one is even considered touristic in a contemporary way. The classic wayang that created an ancient story became touristic. In the middle no longer exists. It is good if wayang become an integral part, very interesting, because it controls the development of culture.

In the contemporary scenario, my experience is minimal, if wayang is understood as a medium it's easier to understand. It can be of all sorts. It can be a cartoon, it can be a comic, a new story can be made, can be for anything because it's a medium as there is a theatre, there is a video, there are puppets, there is a body. It's easier, from the contemporary modern tradition to see how the puppets develop. If the contemporary also develops, the classics and cultural roots are unbroken, if not broken they have a strong identity, they have a strong character, so the community

becomes attractive, dynamic and has a will. Yes, if it is used as a medium, the elaboration is easy and really integral with the people.

If society ultimately is pragmatic, even the tradition is pragmatic and becomes tourism. Wayang also became pragmatic entertainment. Yes, at the end the taste of the people is low and wayang taste is low too, because it is entertainment only, no other function. The philosophy of life, how to live, how to die, where to go later, like that, the function is there.

GP Do technology and social media have significant impact on your art or the art here in general?

IW Yes, for sure. Facebook can be a conflict in Indonesia, because of religion. Instagram can be a market too. All can be an online gallery, so a market as well and a lot of people selling. Online exhibitions can also be. Selling online. Find a girlfriend online. All can be, yes it is an innovative development. Human development of art, politics, it must have negative/positive. Well, if so then how is the artist today contemporary? There's a lot of new possibilities including how to understand galleries. It's not just a place for exhibitions but a gallery is what makes the programme anywhere in the world, not where it is.

Today the gallery means a programme that makes the programme; it can be anywhere, it can be online, it can be in the sea, it can be on the mountain, it can be on the highway, not only in the exhibition hall including the artist as well. Making the work can be anywhere in any space. The exhibition can be in the bathroom, but viewed online, it can be. I said that the performance artist or contemporary artist is the creator, and he's the medium and the life is the space for exhibition, for the show. Elder artists, the medium, the gallery is in that city. Still a lot like this, actually. For me it's old, not holistic. Many contemporary artists or considered contemporary artists, for years and years the artwork is the same and the same. Contemporary is that everything made creates a new context. Does not depend on the material, regardless of space and time. But if the material is the same, even the visual style is the same, that is modernist. But what is contemporary, number one... well, already, I don't want a discussion, so often already, very often... If there is a war situation all contemporary artists of all contemporary galleries are closed, jobless. In reality,

contemporary artists and contemporary galleries can exist in all times, and should. To create the contemporary art today, besides being a performer, we could use other mediums depending on the condition, on peace, war, crisis, stability; medium and technique are only the tools, not the artistic nor the aesthetic.

Semangart¹³

Looking for an exhaustive depiction of the actions performed by Iwan Wijono, some difficulties are encountered. First, traces of performances are not always left behind, but also when having documentation, it becomes something else, made of different material, impact and involvement, as well as conservation methods. Iwan Wijono regretfully recalls the two hard drives storing photograph and video records that suddenly disappeared. Through the network of friends and contacts together with the IVAA multimedia materials, some data have been retrieved. Notwithstanding, he himself feels unable to resume his own path in performance when requested, not only for the incomplete documentation, but also for the comprehensiveness of performance. Performance, as a form of body action, is not confined only to the rubric of art (Wijono 2002: 21); the involvement between “performing art and social work” is important, he said, where art responds to social problems.¹⁴

I found similar considerations valid also for wayang performance. It may lack documentation, but any documentation is not exhaustive of the performance, which is eminently social and might address contingent issues. Wayang and performance art share some aspects: the central figure of the aesthete artist; the focus of attention on the body and the movement; and the political and social response. Art with sociopolitical connotations, the engaged art or activism, in Java now often coined as *semangart*, has a relevant historical matrix in Indonesia. If during and after the conquest of independence from Dutch and Japanese rule during World War II the awakening of modern art was driven by the desire for emancipation,

¹³ “Semangart” is a portmanteau word that combines the Indonesian *semangat*, meaning spirit, vigor, and art.

¹⁴ Amid the COVID-19 outbreak, Iwan Wijono together with fellow artists distributed food in Bantul, Yogyakarta, and founded Public Farm, a plant nursery that gives visitors vegetable and fruit seedlings for free [online: www.thejakartapost.com/multimedia/2020/06/20/plant-nursery-helps-people-reconnect-with-nature-grow-their-own-food.html] late accessed June 29, 2020].

development and reinforcement of the national identity (Morelli 2014: 66), a nationalist-type political consciousness quickly took over the arts education given to students at the Academy of Fine Arts (ASRI) founded in 1950 at Yogyakarta. The works of privileged references were above all paintings aimed at a socialist realism (idem: 85). Thus art was a tool of social aggregation, born from the people to the people. Art community and multifunctional spaces flourished; public spaces were also meeting places.

On a personal but also collective level, Iwan said that he felt the urge to express dissent in regard to the living conditions of that time, bringing the body and its performative action to the street, to the people, in the public space where people are. The critical issues were political above all: anti-Suharto and pro-democracy, but also ecological. One of his first documented performances was “Manusia Hijau Menuntut Semua Manusia Untuk Menyelamatkan Bumi” (the green man asks all men to save the earth). Walking on the main streets of the city of Yogyakarta, it criticizes the environment broken by the global industrial project. With an American student, Kate Charest, he then performed “Manusia Kuning dengan Sepatu Boot Hijau dan Merah” (Yellowman with Green Boot & Red Boot) at ISI Yogyakarta in 1997 in order to criticize the dictatorship perpetuated by Golkar, the political party of Suharto, at that time active in a big campaign. That same year, there was a Human Rights Art performance that saw the collaboration with S. Teddy D., Yustoni Volunteero and 6 street musicians. They walked to the General Post Office in order to send a poster to the government with the phrase “By Human Right We Need Clean and Good Governance”. Once back to the campus, walking again, they were awaited by the military for interrogation.

Rebellion also takes shape in his look, from head to toe, accessories and transportation. Iwan has a protruding dreadlock and the rest of his hair gathered at the top of the head. With time, tattoos covered his body too. Seriousness and self-irony especially are both aspects that Iwan Wijono stresses in performance “everything is serious for me and at the same time the urge is not to take myself too seriously”. Under other forms this also happens for wayang performance, in which laughter and precepts abound. The importance of displacement and nonsense is in order to influence the public and get down to earth. Wayang practice has not lost

political and social commitment, indeed it is increasingly harnessed to it, even if rarely is off stage, despite some exceptions.

Iwan Wijono and some friends founded the *Steak Daging Kacang Hijo* punk band in the mid 1990s in the Fine Art community of ISI Yogyakarta. The name is composed of funny words, which sound like unimportant things. According to him “in the 1990s the sociocultural and political context saw crossing and changes. The shopping mall industry began to emerge as a new shock to the old cultural traditions. Playing music without a title, nor a specific genre, to sound good or bad was no longer the main point. It became a strong attraction for the public in the campus and down on the streets to protest against the government’s absolute power. Although at the end none of us successfully graduated from the university, we became the subject of various research and writings, helping people to graduate”. In fact today this is almost emulated by the young students who seek to learn the creative process and how to respond to the environment. Like other artists, Iwan did not complete his studies at the university, preserving great pride in his self-produced t-shirt “Drop out from art school.” It is the refusal of the government and its institutions.

Invitations to performance art festivals from abroad – Mexico (2000), Canada (2002 and 2011), Japan (2004), Taiwan (2005), Belgium (2017) – paved the way for international recognition and for experimenting performing art forms, not only in public space, but also in galleries and festivals. Locality and globality have entered more consistently into dialogue both for the individual and the collectivity, leading to place and being negotiation: “How am I a Javanese man?” Iwan interrogates himself. The conceptual performance “Volcanos Unite!” at the *Paricutin Action in Site* project held in Mexico saw the exchange of a bag of soil between two volcanoes, one in Mexico and the other in Indonesia. For “The Rootless Man” and “Body for Rent/Body for Auction” performances at the *7a*11d International Festival of Performance Art* in Toronto, Iwan Wijono wrote:

“We live on the earth, we need the earth; we need food and water from the earth. But little by little modern people have distanced themselves from the earth; they want to conquer the earth, benefit and profit from the earth without having to take care of it properly. Most modern people from morning until night do not even touch the earth, everybody wants

to be a businessman or millionaire, nobody wants to be a labourer or farmer, and nobody wants to get their hands dirty. Forests have been felled in the name of industry, villages increasingly become cities or ghost towns, where villagers move to the cities. When the earth is plagued by disease, there are no longer any forests or clean water, dollars can buy nothing!”¹⁵

The accent of the message is on roots and body: the performing body as having Nusantara roots. As previously referred, the word “Nusantara” from Old Javanese is literally translated as “between islands”. However, Iwan wants to point out that in his view the word not only means the space between these islands, but also the space between the planets, the space between the galaxies and so on. According to his vision, which is largely based on *kejawen* teachings,¹⁶ the Nusantara philosophy of life is universal, unified, encompassing not only the material world, but also the space between the material and the spiritual, and between this and other dimensions, all intermediate dimensions, with their possible mutual relations. The Nusantara performative body for Iwan is thus a ritual and performative act that expresses a deep integration of body, mind and spirit that results in physical healing, resolution of personal and social problems, and spiritual purposes. Iwan saw that the scientific world was limited solely to matter and all that could be measured, fuelling a mechanistic rationalism and a conception of technological progress based on the exploitation of natural resources rather than harmonization with nature. His message is that the symbiosis between man and environment can be the natural resource on which to move to the future. In this regard, the “Nusantara Manuscript” – performed and recorded by 2015 at Sukuh Temple in Central Java, and screened at the *Archipel Secret* exhibition in Palais de Tokyo, Paris – aimed, according to Iwan Wijono, to be precisely a ritual performance to unite the spaces that we inhabit.

Again this vision seems wrapped in a nuance of nostalgia that makes strong reference to a mythical memory of a past that never was; a past that paradoxically results as a countercurrent, differently from a more conservative narrative used in *wayang* practice. In this regard I remember the discussion I had with Iwan about his

¹⁵ Available online: 7a-11d.ca/festival_artist/wijono-iwan/ last accessed May 31, 2020.

¹⁶ As seen in Chapter III currently *kejawen* is often translated as “Javanese” or “Javanism” for its close association with the people inhabiting the island of Java. Not reducible to one, but many ways of conceiving the world and life, generally *kejawen* is concerned with spiritual self-control, moving toward an internalized harmonization of the universal and the local, the communal and the individual.

idea of making “The journey of the body”, a book on the performativity of the body in Indonesia. “Many refer to the performance of the 1960s and 1970s in the West, Fluxus and so on, but the performance is not only that, it is part of our culture and from a long time ago, we can speak of Javanese performativity. Everything happens with the performative body, from birth to death. Everyone is an artist. We are traditional-modern-contemporary people at the same time. Everything is happening at the same time here, in an endless transition. I say that the performer is the creator, his body the middle, and his life the stage and the gallery. This is my vision as a Nusantara artist” he said, showing the tattoo on his leg “good performance, good society.”

The performing body then from his view is nature, part of it. This vision resounds a personal reworking in and through performance art of a narrative and life conception dear to kejawan followers and practitioners. The emphasis is on the spiritual, mysticism and animism, on the invisible, on the multidimensionality of reality, in connection with the territory and the context, aware of life transience. Considering Nusantara multidimensional society and its spiritual people, Iwan Wijono seeks to reconsider nature as a subject, asking himself about ways of harmonizing with the universe, contextually: the ability to respond and correspond. He recalls the spiritual tradition of rituals for experimenting with the human body’s potentiality in a new political, economic and social context. In so doing, he criticized Indonesia’s fashionable arts, since for him contemporary art is all that creates a new context, regardless of material, space and time. The way to relate and create local and global contexts and networks is mainly developing community-based projects for Iwan. Some actions occupying public space or criticizing the status quo move at the limit of what is considered licit. Exchange of favours and a network of direct personal relations might guarantee a kind of consensus, but it may also happen sporadically that small local groups, under the flag of the Muslim religion, unofficially intervene to stop and prohibit some happenings.

Meanwhile since the 1990s art market in Indonesia rapidly intensified. If painting is the type of art most sold in the world, the same is true for contemporary art in Indonesia. Markets and galleries are the real engines of art in Indonesia. State incentives are almost absent; the most active are private initiatives, by collectors and

artists themselves. Multifunctional spaces called alternative arise, but in the last decade, alternative and mainstream spaces have become blurred. In an article for *Asia Art Pacific*, Nindityo Adipurnomo and Mella Jaarsma (2012) identify 2008 as a year of change in the Indonesian scene for the trends of “going global” and the rising influence of market force. Political parties also use art to attract people’s attention and tourism turns it into entertainment.

How among vibrating arts in contemporary Indonesia, and Yogyakarta in particular, wayang kulit practices, knowledge and skills found places and are kept alive will be discussed in the following chapter.

6.

Wayang kulit transmissions as preserving and embodiment-remembering

“For ordinary people, wayang is not a good deal for studying or working. Imagine someone asking you ‘What do you do?’ and the answer being ‘I study wayang’... it sounds strange, both due to how difficult it is to succeed and the estrangement from the world; it is not a profession, and so little appreciated” – a man, clearly external to wayang practices, once told me.

I received such a comment as a prompt to resize my wayang perception. Among wayang practitioners, the discourse is indeed quite different. Following fieldwork with individuals and groups variously related to wayang, it became important to consider what is valorised and defended as well as how it is transposed into practice – what is said and what is done. Wayang practitioners and aficionados mostly defend the importance of wayang precisely for its pedagogical value: for transferring social and individual values of inclusiveness and aggregation; for teaching how to have great balance and to hinder a personalist emphasis. Some also consider wayang as a form of entertainment and/or as a means of art expression. Few, as is the case reported in Chapter VII, do not see prospects for giving dignified continuity to the vocation of dalang, and thus persuade the heirs to take another path. Both wayang practitioners and enthusiasts often rhetorically asked “Who else if not we [as natives and bearers of a cultural heritage?] should care for keeping a tradition alive?” – a discourse which to date is more closely followed, relying on wayang recognition by UNESCO. Very little however is said about how this practice of human invention is actually kept alive, preserved through time and transmitted from one to another or ‘re-membered’ (meaning both sustained in memory, and done once more), as in Harry West’s words concerning cheese makers (West 2013: 322). The anthropologist Pascal Boyer already warned of the idea of structural similarity between mental representations and behavioural outcomes, following which explaining one amounts to explaining the other (Boyer 1994: 279).

The matter of “taking care of” seems to be crucially related to the matter of “cultural transmissions” that involve filtering the acquired awareness, knowledge and skills to pass to someone else. It is then crucial both for the development and elaboration of the present, leaning on the past and for projection towards the future. Attempts at a definition suggest that cultural transmission is “the reproduction of information and practices through social learning, independent of the genes or other biochemical means, and involving one or more motor-sensory system” according to the evolutionary psychologist Cecilia Heyes (1994); or cultural transmission is “the emergence, acquisition, storage, and communication of ideas and practices” according to the cognitive anthropologist Emma Cohen (2010: S194). In anthropology, however, the concern and concept of cultural transmission was kept at a distance for a long time, reluctant to open up to theories and methodologies from evolutionary biology. Using the term transmission – usually referring to genetic transmission – social scientists warned, might mislead people into considering cultural transmission as a transparent, immediate, direct and passive process or an overly vague concept. Only in recent decades have various disciplines such as anthropology – mostly cognitive and evolutionary anthropology – psychology, ethology, neuroscience and evolutionary biology been encountered in the study of cultural transmission. Interdisciplinary researches question how social learning and cultural transmission as interactive and complex processes occur. Individual interactions are taken into particular account, in an attempt to go into the details of how cultural transmission is practically instantiated and how it makes us different from other animals.

The collection of essays edited by Joy Ellen, Stephen Lycett and Sarah Johns (2013) to all effects deals with the theme of cultural transmission through a multidisciplinary approach. The introduction claims that what characterizes the process of cultural transmission is that it is eminently social: it implies movement not only of ideas, information and representations, but also and above all of gestures, practices and behaviours between individuals or groups. However not all the learning is strictly cultural, since learned behaviour may not have been acquired from others, and so was not necessarily transmitted. According to the authors, unlike genetic transmission, “cultural transmission is, of course, imperfect (...)

potentially more hazardous, given that socio-cultural output rarely reproduces in a precisely identical form, and there is no physical vehicle of transmission to enforce fidelity (...) human social systems provide for secure and effective contexts in which transmission can take place, and within which transmitted culture can be refined and edited to enforce sufficient conformance” (Ellen and Fischer 2013: 2).

Many aspects and issues are at the heart of anthropological researches and ways of questioning reality: the extent to which individual agency is relevant within cultural transmission; how transmission and variation articulate within a social group; how micro-level processes combine with the macro-level. I feel obliged at this point to refer to the warning that “one persistent problem in anthropological theorizing of cultural transmission is that it is often assumed to operate collectively, from one generation to another, rather than from one individual to another (...) While the process indeed takes place in a socio-ecological context that comprises multiple individuals, single individuals are always the vectors of acquisition and transmission” (idem: 3). In order not to fall into the error, the same authors propose to distinguish three levels of analysis: the micro-level – bodily and cognitive aspects of processes of learning and innovation, and interpersonal interaction; the middle-range level – social institutions as contexts; and the macro-range level – issues of cultural history, adaptation, phylogeny, diversification and spatial diffusion.

This same subdivision, it must be remembered, is thus in order to facilitate analysis, understanding and communication. The three levels are well intertwined and overlapping. The ways in which wayang kulit knowledge and skill are individually learnt and nowadays transmitted intertwines with changes and continuities in society. The introduction of formal instructions, especially from the last half of the nineteenth century with Dutch scholars, then with the establishment of dalang schools in the 1920s, brought consistent transformations in knowledge: whether from said substantive and lexical (Ellen 1999) or declarative and performative (Puri 2013) knowledge, to a textual and codified knowledge. As a consequence, standardization and bureaucracy accompany new ways of transmission (West 2013) in which political, cultural and educative policies are implicated. Definitions, representations and narratives around wayang kulit are also involved in transmission, hammering out a set of principles and practices – the “normative

expectation” development (Schechner 1993: 184-227) is an example. Life cycles and generations too influence knowledge and practice transmission. Again many interactions, that are interpersonal relations and contexts, are involved in wayang kulit transmissions.

Transmission practices also gained great attention in relation to heritage issues and policies, due to the increasing regard devoted by heritage studies to the inescapable bond between knowledge-skill-value and learning-training-transmission. Knowledge contents, values and practices are not and cannot be considered detached from the modalities of transmission. Correspondingly, transmission practices related to living heritage have entered the sphere of action of UNESCO’s heritage policies. Since 2009, the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices aims to list projects and activities regarded as best practices for the transmission of living heritage to future generations. Since 2015, UNESCO’s committee requests a report from state parties on the measures taken to increase transmission practices.

In Chapter II, the proclamation of wayang as Masterpiece of Oral Heritage by UNESCO in 2003 and its subsequent induction onto the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity was already discussed. To what extent the inclusion of wayang kulit on the UNESCO list has contributed to increasing and/or changing learning and transmission modalities might be analysed here. According to the candidature file by Sena Wangi (2002), both the sanggar of *wayang Palembang* in Sumatra and *wayang Banjar* in South-Kalimantan received support from UNESCO because they were in danger of extinction. As will be related in Chapter VII, I visited both in order to perceive the reasons or criteria for considering an intangible cultural heritage endangered or not; to give an account of how these schools are working or not in result of UNESCO’s recognition; and to explore the implications in terms of transmission.

A similar direct and material implication of UNESCO’s recognition cannot be traced in regard to the other three styles considered by the candidature, namely the Sundanese (West Java) wayang golek, wayang kulit in Central and East Java, and wayang kulit in Bali, since they are not in danger. Different conditions invest the five styles of wayang included in the UNESCO candidature file. According to studies by scholars, consistent changes and a shift in wayang training and transmission have

occurred in the last century, as will be described later in the specific case of Yogyakarta. UNESCO's proclamation may have brought an incentive, invigoration and further step in the process of maintaining and valorising what is presumed to be "authoritative" wayang kulit performance, now recognized internationally. Patrimonialization is like a renewed "normative expectation" agreement, now with the right to be spoken, to maintain especially a model of performance, with its set of principles and practices. Therefore what might seem to be issues related to patrimonialization emerge in representations and narratives around wayang kulit among artists, scholars, publicists, bureaucrats, patrons, students, and spectators, but the correlation to UNESCO recognition is only a recent episode in its path.

Victoria M. Clara van Groenendael, in the chapter "The Dalang's Training", explored the new generation of dalang born into a family of dalang or entering the service of some dalang (Groenendael 1985: 20-24). The dalang skills are passed from father to son or from master to apprentice. The young dalang grows into the wayang and wayang grows into dalang as one. According to the existing literature, the establishment of pedalangan schools – first under the will of the kraton and later as an education programme by the government – constitutes a remarkable historical change in the wayang learning process: transforming its forms by introducing writings into oral knowledge; opening the alleged secret knowledge to a wider public; making it official and formal training, with aims of greater professionalization; and allowing people of various ages and backgrounds to take this path. Due to the substantial transformations made in transmission modalities, the foundation and development of institutional pedalangan courses at Yogyakarta is first considered in this chapter.

As previously mentioned in Chapter I, among these courses, I joined wayang tatah sungging at AKNSBY and pedalangan courses at the University of Art ISI Yogyakarta and at the court puppetry school named sanggar Habirandha. A first-person involvement in the learning experience, together with participant observation and long discussion, allows for both what is transmitted and how it is transmitted to be experienced, described and analysed. The AKNSBY course on learning how to make wayang kulit was already reviewed in Chapter III. Then Chapter IV was dedicated to the tatah sungging process of learning, according to

which a puppet maker acquires knowledge and skills by interactive processes, at the interplay between materials, movements and surroundings. How learning processes for performing wayang occur is here analysed with a focus on teaching modalities, or as it may be put, cultural transmissions through expert guidance. Bodily experience in transmission processes allows knowledge and skill to be unpacked, often presented as a notion to acquire and to be taken as a cultural given.

At the micro-individual level, processes like learning, copying, imitating and innovating are at the centre of the interest for researchers from numerous disciplines that try to define its peculiar characteristics, its diffusion in species other than human beings or the neural mechanisms that make it possible. Learning is the development of competence: the generation, retention and communication of abstract representations and actions. Copying is imitative (under guidance) and improvisatory (self-discovery). Imitating is thus a particular form of copying, of both the goal and the related actions to reach it, differentiated by psychologists from emulating of only the goal or outcome. Innovating consciously occurs when facing new problems or old problems, which appear in new ways.

Rather than “developmental process”, Tim Ingold prefers the notions of enskilment and of perceptual engagement through performance by a whole organism-person in an environment (Ingold 2001: 135). The body “remembers” the skills learned through constant repetition and somatic plasticity. Cognitive and physical processes of transmission are embodied, thus grounded in material contexts and irreducible to mechanical replications. If there are cognitive preconditions for learning, it is under analysis and demonstration. Bodily, cognitive, neural and social processes that permit and constrain knowledge transmission are conjointly operative and mutually contingent (Cohen 2010: S194). Wayang learning is certainly through self-motivated exploration, reflection and maybe reading, but also via discussing, attending performances and participating in a community.

The approach which is encouraged for learning both making and performing wayang kulit is with *rasa*,¹ an open heart and mind all in one. Both guidelines and personal feeling are appreciated and trained, also opening to changes in wayang

¹ *Rasa* meanings will be discussed further later in this chapter.

through a creative individual sensibility and enjoyment of search/pursuit. This attitude towards ‘getting the feeling’ of wayang, to unite feeling with wayang, often makes reference to the practice of meditation. An attitude that at the same time reminds me of a sense of alertness concerning the colonialists’ construction of wayang as “mystical” and “religious” that many experts past and present contribute to reinvigorating and believing, recognizing and reinvigorating wayang’s authority and popularity as traditional culture.

A discourse on culture and tradition as a meal ready to be swallowed and to be maintained, often emerges also in programmes concerned with young dalang. Chapter III already showed how this discourse is recreated and readapted, displaying power relations at stage, and how it is embedded in the AKNSBY governmental programme which aims to provide competencies and certification in order to fulfil a cultural and tourism agenda, as well to respond to art and job market demands. It was brought as an example of how governmental cultural agendas are implicated in cultural transmissions, here taken further in analysis. What happens when transmission practices are institutionalized and intertwined with governmental cultural agendas? A large concern is *generasi muda*, or the young generation to which publications and governmental cultural agendas such as festivals and competitions are often directed. However, “the people concerned may experience our ‘discursive figures’ or ‘ideological constructs’ as most precious anchoring points for personal and communal life” as Eldar Bråten points out for reflection. That is the reason for encountering wayang-teaching realities that are not strictly related to formal institutional programmes. Examples are *sanggar Ayodya*, established with the support of Pepadi Bantul, and *sanggar Buana Ahlit*, an individual initiative, which both share a similar mission: guiding children in the *kampung*, or hamlet, towards learning wayang.

Through a guided development of perception, the learner attends to the wayang landscape through his/her imagination and feeling. This perceptual self-transformation is mutually shaped with a wayang landscape: a mutual, creative, invented, exposed and transformative shaping, impregnated among other things with constructed and induced mental representations and narratives.

Wayang kulit changes and continuities over time and space

Actually, wayang kulit transmissions can occur through family tradition and inheritance; at sanggar and formal education through governmental initiatives, namely vocational high schools, graduate programmes and specific courses; as an autodidact. Regarding pedalang, that is puppetry, how to perform wayang thus becomes dalang, as Bernard Arps briefly made the point: “there are basically three routes towards such a goal: studying by watching wayang, apprenticeship with a senior dhalang, and enrolling in dhalang courses and schools” (Arps 2016: 10). Similar routes exist in regard to tatah sungging for learning how to make wayang: acquiring knowledge by watching and practicing; training with a senior puppet maker; and enrolling in leather craft courses.

Historically, it is remarked that wayang was mostly an oral tradition in which transmission occurred from father to son and from master to apprentice. *Nyantri* is the term used for the practice of following a senior dalang to the performances and eventually serving in his place. A dalang used to store a gamelan set at the house and to keep the wayang puppets in wooden boxes, to be ventilated and cleaned regularly. An aspiring puppeteer could serve by making the wayang puppets, playing *karawitan*, the gamelan music of accompaniment, repairing puppets and their joints, and also receiving people and their commissions. From generation to generation, the young dalang grew into the wayang. Dalang pupils spend the nights in half-sleep, waiting for the comic part of goro-goro or the crucial moments of the battle, both favoured by children and the people due to the increasing action.

In addition to these more familiar ties, formal education was introduced. The development of pedalangan schools in central Java is closely traced in relation to the history of the kingdoms of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. With the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755 signing the split of the Mataram kingdom, the two fractions agreed that *Kasultanan Yogyakarta* would give continuity to the Mataram tradition of puppetry, while *Kasunanan Surakarta* would create new, *iyasa ingkang énggal*. As evidence of this agreement, according to the oral tradition, it is said that Hamengku Buwana I, the first sultan of Yogyakarta, created a prototype of the Arjuna puppet, known as *Kanjeng Kyai Jayaningrum*, which is said to be part of the kraton heirloom. The split between the two reigns also continued in a cultural sphere, with both courts

developing their own style.² The Dutch colonizers took advantage of this division by establishing their own control over the Javanese elites. The colonial revolts of the Java War of 1825-30 and the Indian Mutiny of 1857 reminded the Dutch, according to Richard Schechner (1993: 184-224),

“what can happen when the customs of local people are too rudely disregarded. A policy of collaboration with and manipulation of the Javanese rulers succeeded. From the mid-nineteenth century, the Dutch shrewdly shunted the Javanese courts “into art” (...) the sultans were left with mostly religious, ceremonial, and artistic duties. (...) The Dutch stripped wayang of its politics and historicity, its ability to relate contemporary events, and tried to invent it in a form emphasizing its basis in ancient “myths,” its “timeless” aesthetics and its “mystical” functions. (...) dalangs were learning the “right way” to perform. For example, in the 1870s–80s Ch. te Mechelen prepared what amounted to manuals for dalangs including scripts and instructions on how to perform (1879a, 1879b, 1882).”

Similarly, the *Pustaka Raja*, literally meaning the books of the kings, was written by R. Ng. Ranggawarsita (1802-1874) and brings together stories about the mythical and epic past of Java. It became the standard work of the Surakarta pedalang tradition, while the corresponding *Purwakandha*, meaning stories about the origin, was compiled in Yogyakarta during the reign of Hamengku Buwana V (1822-1855) (Groenendael 1987: 33).

Both the courts of Surakarta and Yogyakarta founded formal *pedalangan* schools in the 1920s, before Indonesian independence, in a kind of wave of democratization. The dalang training school of Yogyakarta, named *Hambiwarakaké Rancangan Dhalang*, abbreviated as *Habirandha*, opened in 1925 at the behest of Sultan Hamengku Buwana VIII (1921-1939), following the Surakarta court which opened the first dalang school, *Pasinaon Dhalang ing Surakarta (Padhasuka)* in 1923 (Soetarno et al. 2007: 199, 241; Groenendael 1985: 30). The *Habirandha* school was settled in the sultan’s palace area where it still is. Its formal education provided a technical guide or *pakem pedalangan* for dalang. Dalang attend the school at the

² Circles of dalang, puppet-makers and professors in Yogyakarta nowadays claim differences between the two styles. Most juxtapose the male Yogyakarta with the female Surakarta; the liveliness of Yogyakarta gamelan with the Surakarta softness; the preference for stories deriving from the Mahabharata in Yogyakarta with the use of Ramayana in Surakarta; the mobility as if ready to walk of the Yogyakarta figures with the stillness of Surakarta ones; a laborious colouring of the Yogyakarta puppets with the scanty colours of Surakarta.

kraton and continue training in the villages. This institutionalizing process shaped and reinvigorated the sultanate style, which Richard Schechner (1993) called the “normative expectation”, a style which so many now conceive as the “ancient tradition” wayang purwa, rather recently created and/or imposed by Dutch scholars with Javanese court artists. Anyway, dalang from the villages continue to use their own style inherited from their parents (Soetarno et al. 2007: 202).

According to critical works by John Pemberton (1994) and Laurie J. Sears (1996), the efforts resulted from both Dutch and Javanese scholars and elites that met together under the influences of Theosophical beliefs. The Theosophical Society, which stressed universal humanitarian values, was quite influential among Javanese and Dutch scholars in the 1920s. The mystical side of wayang tradition was reinvigorated, reinvented and speculated. The asceticism with which dalang prepare themselves for initiation into the mystical, spiritual knowledge (*ilmu batin*) and the perfection of the soul and magic power (Holt 1967: 132) were assumed by many European and American as well as Indonesian scholars. Together with the mysticism, opposing concepts of urban and rural, court and country, *alus* and *kasar* (Geertz 1960), *agung* and *rakyat* (Kayam 1981), small and great (Koentjaraningrat 1985) were posed by scholars in order to interpret Javanese society and successively questioned by critical studies. This is an example of a short circuit determined by anthropology.

The training school supported by the kraton has a precedent in the establishment of a court classical dance institution, named *Krida Beksa Wirama*, in Yogyakarta. From 1918, Prince Tejokusumo together with Prince Suryodiningrat were vanguards of Javanese court dance, teaching it outside the kraton walls. Classical dances of Yogyakarta style were standardized and new dances were created. Court dances were one of the prerogatives of the Sultan Hamengku Buwana VIII (1921-1939), whose period of regency is also known for the development of *wayang wong*. Big new plays were held during his regency. At the same time, the sultan gave support in terms of authorisation and funds to Yogyakarta progress in education: schools, organizations and activist movements emerged. In 1922 Ki Hajar Dewantara founded the school of *Taman Siswa* in Yogyakarta, a reformist

educational programme aiming to provide education for indigenous people.³ Education at the time of the Dutch East Indies was limited to the Javanese aristocracy and the Dutch colonials. Taman Siswa, moreover, collaborated with the nationalist movement *Jong Java* and supported cultural events. Art and culture became an arena for education by the Indonesian nationalistic movement for independence.

Soon after the defeat of Japan⁴ and the subsequent declaration of the Indonesian Republic on August 17, 1945, the revolution detonated. During the revolutionary period of 1945-1949, dance developed thanks to the initiatives of young dancers, a group that later established itself with the name *Irama Tjitra* (Lindsay 2012: 191); wayang developed a new form of puppet play, *wayang suluh*, which portrayed the national leaders and the *pemudas* (young guerrilla soldiers) in their struggle to obtain independence for their country. The puppets were cut from leather, with features that resemble the human visage more closely and were dressed in the modern conventional style. After Indonesia won the struggle for independence, the success of *wayang suluh* as a medium of political information gave rise to the development of the *wayang pancasila*, based on the five basic principles of the Indonesian Constitution (*The Cultural Life of Indonesia*, Embassy of Indonesia 1951: 36 in Schechner 1993: 215-216).

From 1946 to 1949, Yogyakarta made a relevant contribution to the Indonesian struggle for independence. Under loyalty to the Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, Yogyakarta became the capital of the Indonesian government and received the first President (Sukarno) and became the centre of revolution, *ibukota perjuangan*. The Indonesian independence movement and related activities reverberated from the sultan's palace, especially the northern square.⁵ Regarding pedalangan, in Yogyakarta a magazine entitled *Pandjangmas* was published under the guidance of Ki Rijasudibyaprana, an authority on wayang philosophy, history and

³ For further reading on this subject see Kenji 1975; Kenji and Hawkes 1988; Kutoyo 1997.

⁴ Dutch colonial control was taken over by the Japanese occupation in 1942-45.

⁵ Yogyakarta preserved a special status in the Indonesian Republic mainly because of this significant role it played in the Indonesian revolution. See Mujanattistama 1977.

Yogyakarta Special Province was recently reaffirmed through the Law n.13/2012, concerning the privilege of Yogyakarta (*Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*) and reinforced by the Regulation of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (*Peraturan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*) n.1/2013, on the Authority in Privileged Affairs (*Kewenangan Dalam Urusan Keistimewaan*).

performance. Published between January 1953 and July 1958, the magazine contains many articles about the performance technique, on the base of which sanggar Habirandha published a textbook for dalang in 1977, *Pedhalangan Ngayogyakarta*. The intention was to fix the official Yogyakarta style of performance and to guide the students under the supervision of a teacher (Long 1979: 6-8). The scholar Roger Long enrolled in a *Habirandha* pedalangan course and he described in detail the movements' patterns for performing *wayang*. At the time Roger Long had enrolled in this Habirandha course, he wrote that "there are two texts skills and technique (*pedalangan*) required of a *dhalang*. Until recently the only complete guide of this nature was M. Ng. Nojowirongko's *Serat Tuntunan Padalangan* (Guide to the Art of the *Dhalang*) ... A second major textbook, *Pedhalangan Ngayogyakarta* (Ngayogyakarta Style *Wayang* Performance), was published in 1977 by the Habirandha school for dhalang" (Long 1979: 7). The vast majority of the population was illiterate until the first half of the twentieth century and "the oral tradition has only started to come into print in the past forty years or so, and this entry into the written sphere is due to complex changes" (Hughes-Freeland 1985: 39).

Nowadays too, at the moment of enrolment in Habirandha, the book *Pedalangan Ngayogyakarta* is provided together with a DVD. The course lasts three years and is accessible to anyone who wants to learn pedalangan, without age limits. Mostly practical, it is held in the evening, starting in January. Each year is then concluded in December with a practical exam, which decrees passage to the following year. At the end of the three years, the student should be able to hold a *wayang* performance of three to four hours. The head of sanggar Habirandha is the head of Pepadi Yogyakarta. Vague information related that previously at *Yayasan Habirandha*, a *tatah sungging* course was held too.

In front of the school I met a man who had lived right near the kraton since 1970, after his family moved from jalan Malioboro. He attended a lot of *wayang* training and exams, not to mention the performances. "I can recognize if a dalang is wrong, if the movements and the voice are good" he told me, recalling when he used to see *wayang* performance at the kraton. According to him,

"from 1954 the kraton opened to the public, proposing an all-night *wayang* show once a month. Always full of spectators, there was a yellow-

coloured ticket to acquire in various kiosks scattered around the area. The people ran to get the best seats a month before the event, but as a child, I couldn't afford a ticket, then I waited outside for some tired and sleepy spectator leaving before the end, in order to ask for the entrance ticket and take his place. Then I stayed awake until the end of the show, around 4:30 am when it was still not interrupted by the first Islamic prayer in the morning. I came home and slept; it was Sunday morning."

In addition to sanggar Habirandha, from 1977 the youth of Yogyakarta could start to learn pedalangan at the high school. Actually, the pedalangan course at the High School Karawitan/Arts Indonesia *Sekolah Menengah Karawitan/Kesenian Indonesia*, abbreviated SMKI, was officially inaugurated in 1975. However it started working only in 1977 with the first enrolled students. The SMKI foundation is related to the previous Indonesian Dance Conservatory *Konservatori Tari Indonesia* KONRI. Due to the rapid growth of Yogyakarta in the field of culture in general and the high level of training in classical dance in particular, an institution was needed that could foster artistic life in a systematic and continuous way and that could also develop in accordance with the demands of the time. In 1961⁶ KONRI was founded with these objectives. Riyo Koesoemobroto, the son of Prince Tejokusumo, who himself was a devout Javanese art lover and expert and Head of the Regional Inspection of Yogyakarta Cultures, was appointed the first head of KONRI. R.C. Hardjosubroto, a karawitan, or gamelan music expert, was designated vice-director. KONRI used the late Prince Tejokusumo's gamelan set and part of his aristocratic mansion until 1974.

According to pak Hartono and pak Tejo, both dalang and teachers at the school, the institution altered the name for SMKI⁷ in 1976 and shifted to various locations, until it moved to the actual complex in 1982, named *Mardawa Mandala* in Kasihan, Bantul. At the time of the opening ceremony, dalang Ki Suparman performed wayang kulit.⁸ Theatre and puppetry integrated the two already active courses of karawitan, or Javanese gamelan music and tari, or traditional dance.

⁶ Officially inaugurated on October 17, 1961 though R.I n. 48/1961 by the then Minister of Education and Culture, Prof. DR. Prijono, who himself was a cultural expert, in the field of literature, languages and arts.

⁷ Under the Ministry of Education and Culture, Republic Indonesia n. 0292/O/1976, dated December 1976.

⁸ From the interview with pak Hartono (November 15, 2016, Appendix n.12).

Finally in 1997 the school changed its name to public vocational High School *Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan –SMK Negeri 1, Kasihan*.⁹

According to the annual school register, there are between five and seven students enrolled in the pedalangan course, reaching thirteen students in the year 2016-2017. The aims of the course are to equip learners with the skills, knowledge and attitudes to be competent in manipulating wayang and performing a variety of wayang voices in accordance with the character; playing gamelan for wayang performance; writing scripts of wayang stories; planning and executing wayang performance. The dalang capacities are divided into two levels of capacities, beginner and skilled. The first is able to apply basic techniques of puppet plays: accompaniment puppetry; motion technique (*gerakan*); wayang dialogues (*antawacana*); puppetry vocalism, *dodogan* and *keprakan*, all according to the type and character of the puppets. The latter is able to write scripts for short wayang padat performance and all night wayang semalam suntuk performance; plan and implement wayang performance.

As it is a high school, subjects taught are in accordance with the national programme, which covers approximately half of the lesson hours and includes: religious education, civic education, Indonesian language, physical education, art and culture, mathematics, English language, computer skills and management information, entrepreneurship, natural sciences, social sciences, Javanese language and literature. The remaining lesson hours are dedicated to the practical training of puppetry: pedalangan basic competency/introduction to pedalangan, tatah sungging, procedures and techniques of performance, vocalism pedalangan, *cepeng sabet*, accompaniment (*iringan*) performance, *sanggit lakon*, *pakeliran* (performance/story), industry practices/performance. The final exam consists of the national exam and the wayang performance.

The official school website reports a communication by the director of Performing Arts department since 2006, Dr. Sunardi, whom I personally met and interviewed at the school on November 16, 2016: “Improving the quality of human resources is in response to demands and challenges. Therefore SMK Negeri 1,

⁹ Republic Indonesia n. 036/O/1997, dated March 7, 1997.

Kasihani with the motto 'From Tradition Towards Achievement' makes every effort with the available competences to improve the abilities of human resources through three years of formal education, which generate intermediate-level professionals in the field of Performing Arts, i.e. karawitan, dance, theatre and puppetry". The aim of the school is to improve students' skills in order to be independent and professional in the art field. Some professional dalang graduated at SMKI are for example Ki Seno Nugroho, Ki Radyo Harsono, Ki Udreka and Catur 'Benyek' Kuncoro.

A further step in the history of wayang education is the opening of the pedalangan department at the University of Arts ISI Yogyakarta. This higher education institution on arts was established¹⁰ and inaugurated by the Minister of Education and Culture, Dr. Nugroho Notosusanto on July 23, 1984. The relatively young institute of ISI Yogyakarta merged three pre-existing higher education institutions, namely the Indonesian College of Fine Arts (*Akademi Seni Rupa Indonesia* ASRI), the Indonesian College of Music (*Akademi Musik Indonesia* AMI) founded in 1961, and the Indonesian College of Dance (*Akademi Tari Indonesia* ASTI), inaugurated in 1963. Among the three, ASRI was the oldest component, having been founded in the early 1950s through the efforts of the artists gathering in Yogyakarta and then in 1968 having gained new shape and authority as an undergraduate-level school. At the beginning of 1973, the directors of ASRI, AMI and ASTI, together with officials from the Ministry of Education and Culture, agreed to establish a higher education art institution with a wider scope and greater authority in the fields of art.

The study programme of pedalangan is part of the Faculty of Performing Arts and it is a leading centre of puppetry training grounded both in tradition and attentive to the contemporaneous development of wayang. The objective is to generate puppetry scholars, experts in the field, who master its knowledge and skills as dalang, researchers, critical observers and/or scriptwriters. With this prospective, competences for creating and performing wayang; for understanding and mastering concepts and values of traditional performance; for broadening horizons of knowledge in the field; and for corresponding to the demands of the time are sustained and incremented. The subjects taught at ISI Yogyakarta pedalangan are

¹⁰ On the basis of Presidential Decree No. 39/1984 dated May 30, 1984

therefore structured in a combination of theoretical then practical lessons. The seven semesters that lead to graduation in pedalangan have the following subjects: pedalangan history; knowledge of the art of pedalangan; aesthetics; anthropology of pedalangan; Yogyakarta style performance; short performance (*padat*); Surakarta style performance; gamelan (*karawitan*) performance; performance composition; pedalangan art management; criticism of the art of pedalangan; knowledge of the play (*lakon*); pedalangan art language; wayang golek; pedalangan art rhetoric; *lakon* source; Pancasila philosophy; knowledge of traditional theatre; and civic education.

The afore-mentioned official steps of pedalangan formation in Yogyakarta do not consider the informal training of wayang in villages, of which the only sources available are mainly oral. The affiliation to the kraton or elite families, however, is often searched and traced back in genealogical descents, however fictitious they might be. A connection with the kraton seems to be perceived as conferring further credibility and prestige. Furthermore, the more generations a person is able to remember and trace back along the lineage, the greater the prestige.

Regarding pedalangan, it is said that in the past there were *dalang* who followed *kasultanan*, or of sultan palace style; the ones who gave continuities to the family tradition in a popular (*rakyat*) style; and finally the ones that mixed both, such as the case of Ki Timbul Hadiprayitno and Ki Suparman, both famous puppeteers (*dalang kondhang*) in Yogyakarta. Wayang kulit performances are held monthly at Sasono Hinggil Dwi Abad, a building in the southern square of Yogyakarta palace, specifically for performances, and the sultan's palace modalities are on stage. Not all the *dalang* performing there are *abdi dalem*, or sultan palace servants. The educational efforts previously commenced by the sultan's palace found continuity in new arrangements and initiatives both by the local and national government.

Generational differences, family ascendancy, surrounding environment, education, individual attitudes and preferences shape the ways of relating to wayang. Having already widely stressed the variety of wayang forms, in space and time, we should talk in terms of plurality of wayang as well as "plurality of Javas" (Hatley et al. 1984). The imaginary capacity of the "wayang world" domain, to borrow an expression from the influential work of Claire Holt, cannot be anything but flexible and plural. Wayang kulit specifically has seen various expressions and

styles in the Indonesian archipelago, namely in Java, Bali, Borneo, Sumatra, and Malaysia as well. In the Javanese island the regional styles of Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Jawa Timur, Banyumas, Betawi, and Cirebon were recognized. Just recently Ki Enthus Susmono, *dalang* and *bupati* (regent) of Tegal since 2014, identified the Tegal style as he argued in his own publications. According to *dalang* Ki Dandun, each district (*kabupaten*) in the province of Yogyakarta if not each *dalang* family possesses a specific style. New styles can also be created by *dalang* as the case of Ki Nartosabdo, in Central Java:

“The integration between the palace culture and the folk culture which is expressed in a puppet show actually began with the emergence of *dalang* Nartosabdo (1960); he began combining the palace puppetry style with the popular tradition of puppetry. Even Nartosabdo combined both puppetry styles, i.e. the Surakarta with the Yogyakarta style. The integration of Surakarta and Yogyakarta puppetry styles can be observed in the *goro-goro* scenes (...) a popular system of performing which is spontaneous, interactive and humorous. It was also presented in the puppet show, for example the dialogue of *dalang* with *pesinden* (singers), which was first performed by Nartosabdo in a *goro-goro* scene and seems now to be emulated by almost all puppeteers in a puppet show” (Soetarno et al. 2007: 219, *my translation from Indonesian*).

Again as said before, stylistic differences between court and folk, Surakarta and Yogyakarta are marked. Do distinctions such as between tradition and contemporary, constructed and authentic, us and them, indigenous and foreign, have a reason for being? More and more *dalang* embraced the posture of the artist, becoming famous stars (Boonstra 2014), which mass media favours. New mass media are perceived as threat and weapon at the same time. “In order to maintain the empowerment of the national intangible cultural heritage, a “counter-attack” is necessary, using the same media and of course maintaining the vitality of the traditional together with the trendy” (Sedyawati 2003: viii, *my translation from Indonesian*). “The globalization of these phenomena is being employed to counteract that same globalization” (Nas 2002: 142) clearly summarizes the apparent paradox of safeguarding programmes.

“Although the art of *dalang* is disseminated orally, the special guide books (*pakem*) have become increasingly important” (Groenendael 1985: 24; Groenendael 1987: 43) in the second half of the 20th century; meanwhile nowadays it is spreading

via the use of mass media. Through radio, television, CD and DVD, internet and smartphone social media, various and continuously updated stimuli, references and challenges are available and at hand for performers and apprentices. The videos especially have become increasingly important, even for providing patterns to follow. While among scholars these fixed modalities are sources of discussion and are considered to affect the dimension of improvisation and creativity, for officials they are a means for controlling and preserving wayang tradition, while for the practitioners they are part of the learning process.

Unpacking the embodied knowledge and skills

During fieldwork, I followed the first semester of the first year of pedalang ISI Yogyakarta, in the academic year 2015-2016. The class was composed of nine Indonesian students, coming from various regions of Java, eight *darmasiswa* students¹¹ of various nationalities and myself. The decision to take part in the first lessons was dictated by the wish to see how novice students are guided by teachers into the art of pedalangan, which teaching methods are put into practice and also what the experience of being a dalang apprentice is like. During the practical lessons of *pakeliran pedalangan* given by pak Udreka and pak Aneng, I shot videos in a kind of note-taking modality both for further studying what is taught and for observing the ways in which it is taught. Following in the steps of Geoffrey Gowlland's reflections on his video stills of ceramics craft, here I use some of the images captured in the lessons in order to "unpack" the embodied knowledge and skills of work not usually accessible (Gowlland 2015: 292).

In the first set of still images (Figure 1 and Figure 2) the teacher pak Udreka shows an action sequence, named *capêng*, in which the wayang puppet is preparing itself for the battle.

The torso of the puppet is still (gapit stuck in the supporting base), only the arms move. While moving the arms of the puppet, the teacher counts the steps one through eight. The teacher repeats the sequence another three

¹¹ Students called Darmasiswa are students of nationalities other than Indonesian, who benefit from the Darmasiswa scholarship for studying Indonesian language, art and culture in universities located in different cities in Indonesia. The Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, offers a Darmasiswa scholarship programme to countries that have diplomatic relations with Indonesia.

times, then changes the side, from right to left, and finally introduces the *capêng* sequence into a wider sequence, battle included. It begins from the *kayon* in the middle of the screen that he moves to the right side. The character enters into the scene, takes its position on the left side and *capêng* follows. The marching army *rampogan* then enters and the character rides a horse. Another demonstration of the entire sequence (from *kayon* in the middle to the battle *perang ampyak*) follows, this time with gamelan accompaniment, *dudukan* and *keprak*. At the end the teacher asks: “Who wants to come forward?”

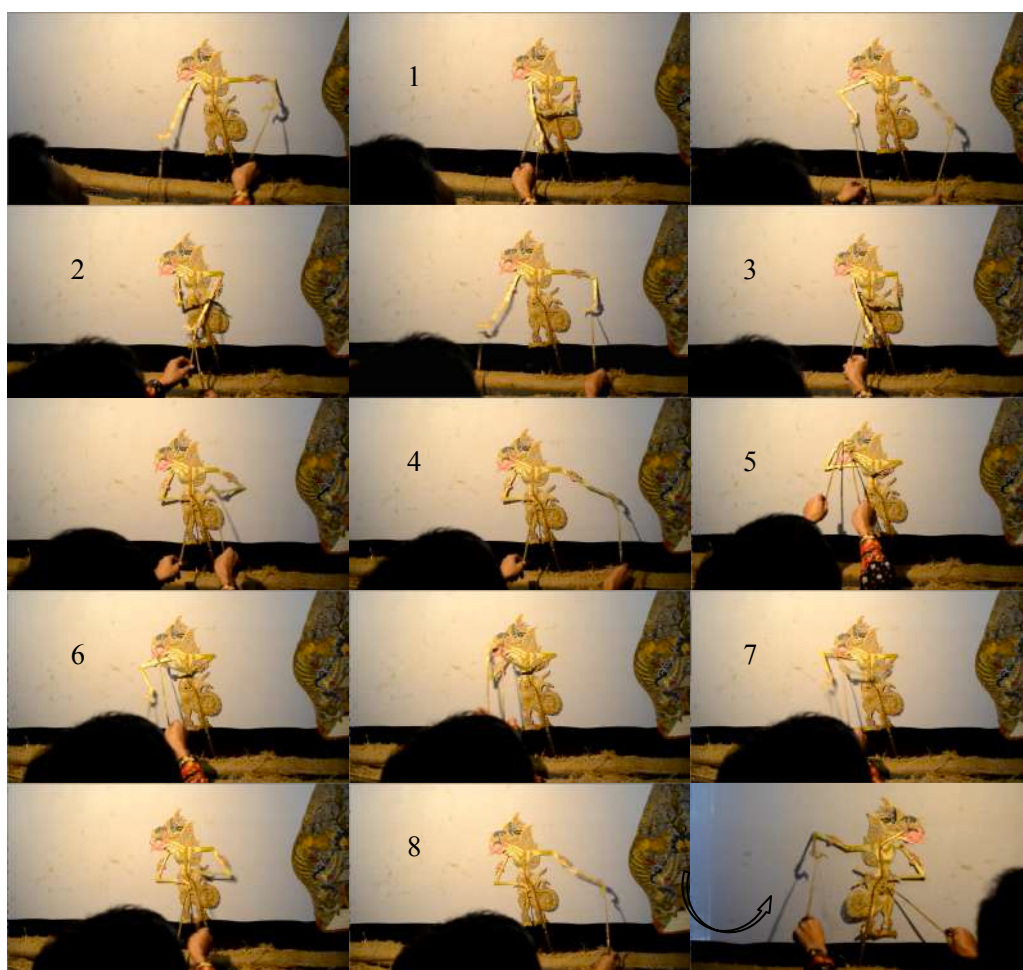


Figure 1 – The teacher pak Udreka demonstrates the *capêng* sequence in which the puppet prepares itself for the battle. He numbers the steps one through eight. Then he moves the puppet to the left side [last still image] and starts the *capêng* sequence again.

(Still images are taken from the author’s video footage. September 7, 2015)



Figure 2 – The teacher pak Udreka introduces the previously shown *capêng* sequence in the larger sequence of the battle *perang ampyak*.
(Still images are taken from the author's video footage. September 7, 2015)

In these teaching methods, the teacher decomposes the task and the situation into context-free features that a beginner with no previous experience can recognize (Dreyfus 2002). In the demonstration, the teacher slows down the movements in order to direct attention toward the various required behavioural components. Numbering the steps in order to help get and memorize the elements of the practice and their consequential order reinforces the so-called “education of attention” (Gibson 1979; Ingold 2000) or “stimulus-enhancement” in ethology. Since the action is in continuity, some of the numbers coincide with the conclusion of the puppet movements; others do not. The action is put in place in a way that (I agree with Geoffrey Gowlland) can be also seen as the cinematic quality of slow motion: “[the techniques] first highlighted the details of the motion, then drew attention to elements that can only be appreciated when carried out without slowing down, notably rhythm and force of impact” (Gowlland 2015: 293). Indeed this isolated first sequence of movements is later reintroduced to a larger sequence and context of events, through a gradual enrichment of movements and rhythm in fluid continuity. Making reference to cinematic qualities, it resembles a “sequence plan”. The repetition of the demonstration enables “reinforced learning”.

In another set of still images (Figure 3) the teacher pak Aneng demonstrates a sequence of a knight on horseback.

He moves the puppets making verbal sounds like *ketan tu dlang tan du ru tan tan ta ta dururu jet ta ta dururu jet*. The teacher then asks: “why is the puppet not in the middle? Because we have to know that the light is at the centre, if for example the puppet is positioned here it is not interesting, the shadow is less clear. But if it’s here ...” After that, the teacher imagines “What may probably be difficult for beginners is to move *ngepok* the gapit” and he repeats the movements in which the wrist twists. “Meditation is the concept for animating puppets. Like that. It’s a small concept but it’s very influential”. Then, the teacher shows the *capêng* sequence, and while moving the arms of the puppet, he counts the steps, one through four. After repeating the sequence three or four times, he enters the *rampogan* saying: “Twice. The first time slowly. Why is *rampogan* not attached to the screen? Because is to make the effect that there seem to be many more soldiers”. Finally the teacher steps aside and invites the students to try, please *monggo*.

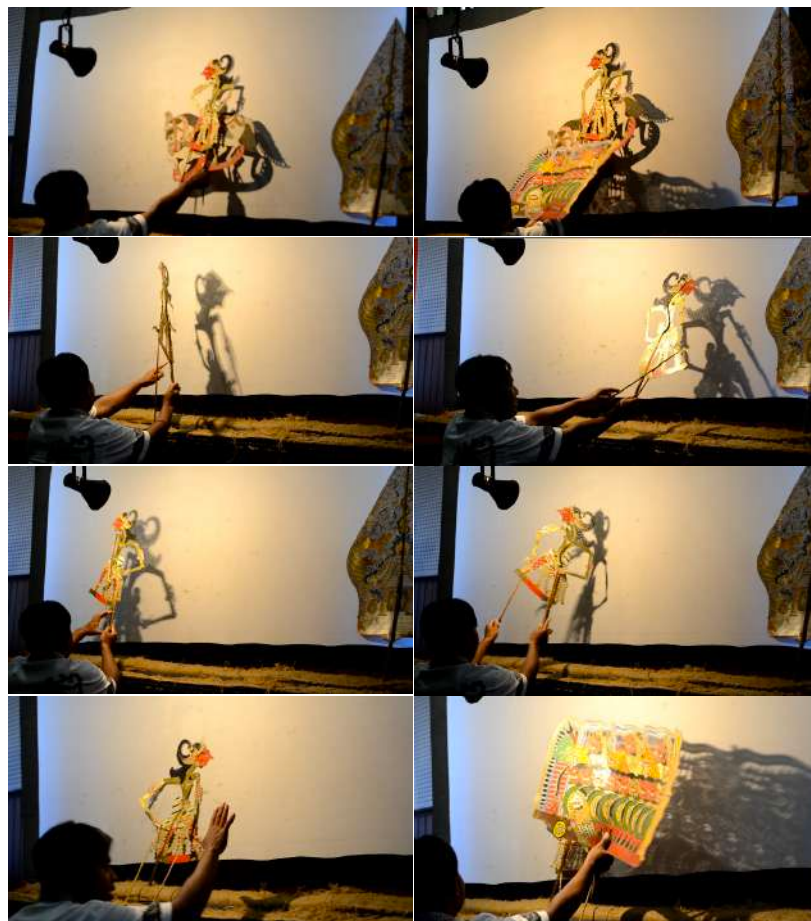


Figure 3 – The teacher pak Aneng demonstrates [from the top row to the bottom row]: a sequence of a knight on horseback [first row]; how the puppet’s shadow looks if it is in the middle of the screen and at the side [second row]; how to hold the gapit and twist the wrist [third row]; how to give the illusion – not attaching rampogan puppet to the screen – that there look to be many more soldiers [fourth row].

(Still images are taken from the author's video footage. September 9, 2015)

For the following reflections about these examples of teaching techniques, I found the reflections were useful that Haruka Okui develops on master puppeteers in Awaji (Okui 2017: 21-27). First, the onomatopoeic utterances recall the drum sounds that mark the time and the body movements of the puppets in performance. The precise coordination of gestures and onomatopoeic utterances are expressions of the embodied movements and facilitate its comprehension. Second, the teacher, who has already acquired the technique thus, is familiar with the movements, can imagine what being a beginner is like and try to put himself in the beginners' place. Third, the information about the puppet position provided here is not verbally accessible, but expressed through bodily gestures. By observing the images we can understand that the puppet's shadow is clearer and more interesting sideways to the central light, rather than in the middle of the screen. This gestural explanation is helpful for bringing the puppet to life in the scene and at the same allowing a situated interpretation, rather than abstract and context-free. Behaviours/motor capacities induce or are sequenced by logical relations through contextual data (Ellen and Fischer 2013: 5). A similarly situated explication could be seen for the expedient in distancing the puppet from the marching army to suggest the idea that there are more of them. Making reference again to cinematic qualities, it could be seen as a "special effect". The situated explanation is carried over through embodiment, as is well exemplified by the third set of still images (Figure 4 and Figure 5). Here the teacher pak Udreka shows the sequence of the battle *perang ampyak* one more time:

"Here it is crossed, then aligned. Aligned became crossed. When this is done, it is the *suluk* "Sritinon langening pamyat...". The teacher shows the sequence one more time and stops the puppet's head with a finger as a pin in order to explain the movement of the rest of the body. He repeats a similar demonstration and amplification, this time the hand of the puppet stopped as a pin and the rest of the body moving. He enters the rampogan, makes the battle sequence and finally invites those who want to try."

In the following lesson the teacher exemplifies character movements:

"Gareng moves like this tun tun tak blang tak blang tun tun.
Petruk is a tall person. That's it."

Semar is old but still fat, thus like this.

There are many more. Just imagine, in one box there are four hundred puppets that must be moved with different movements. Pushing.”



Figure 4 – The teacher pak Udreka demonstrates how the puppets move from being crossed to being aligned [first row]; how the puppet’s body moves if it pivots on the face and in the hand [second row].

(Still images are taken from the author’s video footage. September 15, 2015)

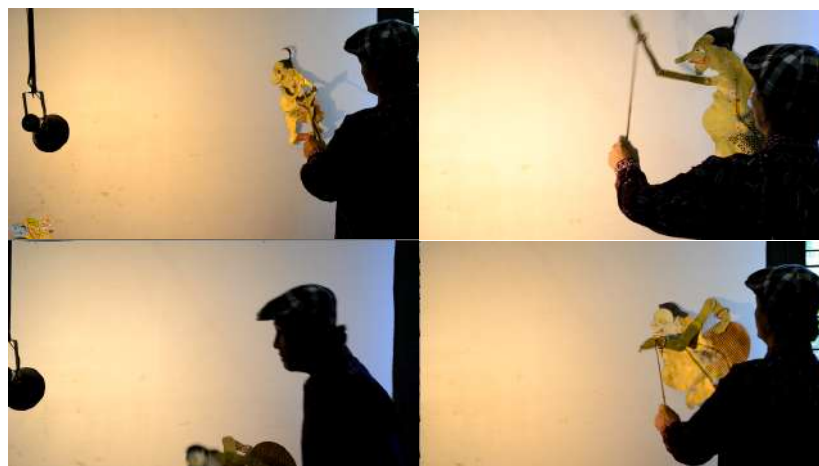


Figure 5 – The teacher pak Udreka demonstrates how Gareng first and then Petruk walks [first row]; how Semar walks, by miming it with his own body first and later the puppet [second row].

(Still images are taken from the author’s video footage. September 21, 2015)

The not particularly rich spoken words, epitomized by “this” and “it”, point to body expression abundant with meaning. The “genuine gestures” (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 213) immediately express their meanings beyond detailed verbal explanations. He explains how puppets walk – each in its own way – by demonstrating it with his own body, as if he is the puppet (Okui 2017: 24). This phenomenological acquisition of a technique is exemplified by the last set of still images (from Figure 6 to Figure 9).

The images show the teacher pak Udreka standing in the classroom holding a wayang puppet, while saying to the students,

“You hold this puppet and command your energy towards the puppet. But not the reverse, otherwise your energy is absorbed by the energy of this puppet and you have no strength. Not the reverse, do you know what I mean? This is a dead object, this is dead, dead. It will live, if part of your energy is transferred here. In wayang aesthetics concepts, it is called *manusma* or *sajiwa*. But don’t be stiff by wayang, just stay like usual, like this you are still being asked for the energy. Relaxed, one, two, three, four. Tek tek, try training this, but don’t be stiff. Exercise yourself, in turn. One, two, three ta ta ta yo ta ta ta” [he claps his hands to mark the time]. The teacher interrupts the training to further explain, “they must go together. If you want to start from the right foot or the left foot is the same, but these must go together, like this toh toh like this toh.” The students’ training continues until the teacher interrupts again. Taking advantage of the ‘mistakes’, he bodily mimes how a student’s movements and how the codified soldier’s movement should be. Mimes of other characters’ way of moving follow.



Figure 6 – The teacher pak Udreka demonstrates [from the top row to the bottom row]: one’s energy must be transferred to the puppet – a dead object he throws to the floor – not the reverse [first row]; the wrong way to make the puppet walking [second row]; the right and relaxed way to make the puppet walking [third row]; how to move his arm not to be stiff [forth row].

(Still images are taken from the author’s video footage. October 5, 2015)



*Figure 7 – The teacher pak Udreka demonstrates how to make the puppet walk in synchronicity with his own step, counting from one to eight.
(Still images are taken from the author's video footage. October 5, 2015)*



*Figure 8 – The teacher pak Udreka bodily mimes what a student's movements look like [first and second rows] and what the codified soldier's movement should be like [third row].
(Still images are taken from the author's video footage. October 5, 2015)*



Figure 9 – The teacher pak Udreka bodily mimes the other characters’ way to move: the puppet Gareng’s posture and walking [first row]; the puppet Sengkuni’s posture and walking [second row].

(Still images are taken from the author’s video footage. October 5, 2015)

This exercise aims to move a puppet, trying to transfer us into the puppet’s place: standing the puppet in our hands, we walked while bodily provoking the puppet into walking too. The puppet must not weigh on the arm, thus requesting energy from the puppeteer’s body. Giving this warning, the teacher shows how his own body would be rigid, without fluidity. Quite the opposite, the puppeteer transfers his energy to the puppet; at the same time moving like that specific character would move. As Haruka Okui clearly says “the instrument played is not an object apart from the person who is using it; instead, it becomes a part of his or her existence, allowing him or her to accomplish whatever task is at hand (...) In the case of puppetry, in which a puppet dances in response to the hands of puppeteers, the puppet too becomes a kind of instrument that changes the puppeteer’s existence. It becomes something more than a simple instrument belonging to its own particular world” (Okui 2017: 19). The requirement of “moving like a wayang” is exemplified by the synchronicity between dalang and puppet steps as well as by the bodily mimes of the specific wayang character made to move. This embodiment learning of wayang character features, movements and psychology the teacher explicitly compares to learning dance:

“Dalang of the past must be good. Many hold wayang in very good ways, because they could dance. These movements are not separated from the dance flow. If you want to hold wayang in a good way, please learn to dance.

I spent two years learning to dance so I could learn how to properly hold wayang. For the dalang of the past it was obligatory to be able to get wayang properly alive. Not all the dalang can do it now. We learn vocality now" (October 5, 2015 *my translation from Indonesian*).

A good dalang is said to be (or should be) also a dancer, a gamelan player and a vocalist. The following exercise consisted of reading a wayang script in Javanese in order to train phonetics, voice and intonation. Each student took turns to interpret the role of the narrator and the characters' dialogue. The chant and karawitan – gamelan musical accompaniment – were also trained under the guidance of the professors.

As we have seen, guidelines are provided for training how to move wayang kulit puppets, and the personal search for 'getting the feeling' of wayang puppets is encouraged as well. The importance of getting the feeling of wayang, to unite one's feeling with wayang, emerged explicitly in a conversation between the professor and a darmasiswa student.

- "Language is very important. There are special languages for each puppet character. The voice is included in language. If you want to know what the meaning of the language is, later it turns out to be one with the puppet."

- "But I believe it can be with other languages."

- "It can be. This can be in English, in Italian, in German. But I believe that there is no unity between the dalang and his soul, because Javanese wayang will be different even using the Balinese language. And apart from that if you later learn about the history of how wayang became like this, then oh.. it turns out..

The problem of how can everyone understand wayang is another problem. The difference is that if we learn about the past, how we unite our feelings with the puppet and how we will play wayang, there are limits.

I learned wayang pak Kasman, wayang ukur, around fifteen years ago. When I first held wayang pak Kasman, it was very stiff, because wayang pak Kasman is not classic. And which language will I use? Pak Kasman made wayang ukur by measuring the form of classical wayang, while taking the features from Western art. I have been a player of wayang pak Kasman, but until now I have not been able to feel my union with wayang pak Kasman. Very difficult."

- "Maybe because your process since you were a child is with classic wayang."

- "Oh it's not like that, that's not the problem. Wayang pak Kasman departs from the classic but with Western decoration and shape as experimentation. Since it is still in searching, it is not united.

In wayang terms it is manusma. Manusma makes it such that once I grasp a wayang I immediately become this, but with wayang pak Kasman I find it very difficult. Until now there has been no establishment, meaning that wayang

ukur is not yet established in good taste. I feel stiff, I don't feel right, even using the Javanese language, I cannot engage."
(December 7, 2015 *my translation from Indonesian*)¹²

Training wayang kulit in between *rasa* and *pakem*

Since my arrival in Indonesia on July 2015 I had been told that "being a dalang takes much imagination, if heart and mind are not together, it will be difficult. On the contrary, if heart and mind already merged and continuously pleased observing and practising, after time you will be able to" (from a short talk with pak Sumardi, coordinator of Museum Wayang at Jakarta and also a dalang). During my fieldwork and especially the trainings, words such as *menyatu* or *menunggal* (Indonesian and Javanese respectively for "being one"), *pake rasa* (with *rasa*) and *senang dulu* (enjoy it first) continued to be addressed several times, denoting that for approaching and appreciating wayang kulit, among other things a *rasa* involvement, delight and union is vividly encouraged. Not such an easy matter, however, is getting what is meant by *rasa* and how to effuse enjoyment and 'being one'. Concerning *rasa*, various connotations of the term were stressed among scholars. Through its exploration together with discussions and personal experiences, *rasa*-enjoying-oneness may become clearer.

The term *rasa* comes from the Sanskrit and is variously interpreted as "juice", "taste", "flavour", "essence", "enjoyment", "beauty", "feeling", among other meanings. A large range of meanings – "from the alcoholic *soma*-juice to the Metaphysical Absolute" – in association with the Sanskrit *rasa* evolved in different periods and disciplines, generating various elaborations of Indian aesthetics (Thampi 1965: 75). *Rasa* theory found its formulations from Bharata-muni's *Natyasastra*, a manual on Indian performance and theory according to which *rasa* is "enjoyably tasted" in analogy with food enjoyment experience, and in the texts and commentaries of other thinkers that followed (Deutsch 1981: 224). Mohan Thampi points out that *rasa* is an "inclusive term" designating the processes of "seed-experience", production, objectification and objective embodiment as well as perception, consummation and enjoyment, in which therefore the subject and the

¹² For the full conversation see Appendix n.13.

object are in “intimate relation” (Thampi 1965: 75). In his “rasaesthetics”, an overall theory of flavour based on *Natyasastra*, Richard Schechner writes “the snout-to-belly-to-bowel is the where of intimacy, sharing of bodily substances, mixing the inside and the outside, emotional experiences, and gut feelings” (Schechner 2001: 27) and “rasa fills space, joining the outside to the inside” (idem: 29), which in performing art is “a sharing between performers and partakers”, “a banquet” where, among other things, “immediacy” and “savoring” are valued (idem: 31).

With the due differences, rasa theory resonances are encountered in the Javanese language as well as in Javanese practices. Jan Gonda noted the combination of rasa and *rahasya* (“secret, mystery”) in Javanese use and interpretation of the term in mystic texts, referring to “the most subtle and most hidden and latent elements in the human heart in which God is said to reside, the “spot” where God and the soul are in contact” (Gonda 1973: 256). This blending and its related mysticism with special emphasis on the heart are at the base of Clifford Geertz’s *priyayi* religious analysis in which rasa, meaning both “feeling” and “meaning”, is the common element of etiquette, art and mystical practice: “the more refined (*alus*) one’s feeling, the more profound one’s understanding, the more elevated one’s moral character, and the more beautiful one’s external aspect. The management of one’s emotional economy becomes one primary concern, in terms of which all else is ultimately rationalized” (Geertz 1960: 238-239).

Through the exploration of Sumarah practice, a prominent mystical movement in Indonesia, Paul Stange attempts to extend this point arguing that the “logic of rasa” underpins ideas of power and underlies general patterns of Javanese ideology and experience. As Paul Stange puts it, the term “knowledge” in Javanese is “not just intellectual but also intuitive” as not just the mind but rather the whole body “knows”. He continues explaining “this sense of knowledge underlies Javanese mystical theory not only of consciousness, but also of its relationship, which is essentially reflexive, to social and political power. Rasa ... is among other things the cognitive faculty which, as Javanese mystics understand it, we use to know the intuitive aspects of reality” (Stange 1984: 114). Suggesting the term “intuition” as the best approximation of the Javanese word rasa, the “logic of rasa” could be

thought of not just as aesthetic experience and spiritual experience or the merging of both, but rather a cultivating-seed to be for all experience.

In a similar vein Felicia Hughes-Freeland tried to disrupt the mind-body dichotomy by exploring consciousness, self-control and social action in Javanese dance. She explains, “the Javanese person is not natural. Human nature being uncontrolled, a prerequisite for being Javanese is education and training ... Thus the Mahabharata ... represents the disproportion between disruptiveness and virtue in human nature. Javanese self-control facilitates social interaction, not personal ends, and is sociocentric, not self-interests ... Being Javanese is not an arcane and secret state but something visible and evident; dancing is a significant means of embodying consciousness in the Javanese way” (Hughes-Freeland 1997a: 56-57).

In another work on the relation between Javanese dance and politics, Felicia Hughes-Freeland wrote that: “Ideally, the performance creates in the Javanese audience the same mood as that of the dancers. This sense of belonging is summed up in the word *rasa*, a word conventionally translated as ‘feel[ing]’ but more accurately rendered as a ‘sense’” (Hughes-Freeland 1997b: 478). On the other hand, that same aesthetics response in terms of *rasa*, she remarked, was Zoetmulder’s invention of “an Old Javanese aesthetic, which has influenced many subsequent researchers of contemporary Javanese culture” (idem: 482). Admitting that “anthropology may at present coincide with postmodern deconstructivist styles”, she found a connection of different views in arguing that “aesthetics is implicated in power play ... it is the manifestation of socially effective interpretations, which refer to ideas gathered over time, and which are articulated in particular ways by particular groups at particular times and places” (idem: 491).

In his dissertation “*Rasa in Javanese musical aesthetics*”, Marc Benamou related that “at the heart of their [Javanese musicians] talk about aesthetic evaluation, about performance, about listening, was *rasa*: “affect”, “mood”, “feeling”, “intuition.” Furthermore, this fundamental concept had been only touched upon in passing in the literature” (Benamou 1998: xxxiii-xxxiv).

This rapid review of *rasa* in the performing arts is propaedeutic for better understanding its resonances in *wayang* performance. According to Sunardi, “the concept of *rasa* is used as the main basis in presenting and appreciating a *wayang*

performance. Rasa is presented by the puppeteer (dalang) through the expression of the wayang performance elements, such as language, movement, and music in the unity of puppet story. There are four dominant rasa, which always emerge in every wayang performance, that is *rasa regu* (exalted), *sedhih* (sad), *greget* (enthusiasm), and *prenes* (love and humor). In a wayang performance, these rasa present in a various patterns, such as coupled opposition and cycle. Rasa has become the key concept in understanding a wayang performance” (Sunardi 2012: 192).

The harmony of many elements in wayang performance is often remarked upon. In the influential “Text-building, epistemology, and aesthetics in Javanese shadow theatre” (1979), the linguist Alton L. Becker stresses wayang’s multivocality in combining different languages, narrative strategies, and characters. It is said that wayang kulit is a “world view”, unifying the physical and spiritual; a “total theatre” in which the opposites get unified by the dalang who directs everything: the puppets’ play, the characters’ voices and the music. The performance is said to depend on the dalang who moves the puppets, pronounces the dialog, sings as the female vocalists also do, directs the gamelan players by hitting on the puppet storage box with a wooden mallet in his left hand and by beating a small mallet held between his toes on small bronze plates. Then the dalang is depicted as a “special” person of extraordinary tenacity, intelligence and ability, if not with ritual power, meditating before a performance to invoke spiritual power for the forces control. Suffice it to consider that dalang is referred to with *Ki*, abbreviation for *Kyai*, an honorific title reserved to respected member of the community, a *guru* and for someone even “a superior person” (Holt 1967: 133).

This description of wayang, whether accompanied by details of puppet arrangement and manipulation, vocal styles, language conventions, music, narratives and plot construction, character hierarchies and relationships, reception, social and ritual functions, retraces the “normative expectation” of wayang – constructed by Dutch colonials and Javanese elites, carried on by Western scholars and appropriated by Indonesian officials – according to Richard Schechner (1993: 191). The wayang connection to mysticism falls into it.

At first, probably affected by the same syndrome of mystical fever, when I met a dalang, my ritual question was whether he used to recite mantra, fast and

meditate. Soon I had to come to terms with answers like “no, I do not fast or make any preparation if the story to perform does not require that, maybe just pray” from my professor pak Udreka (interviewed on November 5, 2015) and “no, I do not say mantra” from dalang Ki Seno Nugroho, quite popular in Yogyakarta (interviewed on May 4, 2016). My first reaction was that it must be a “secret, jealously guarded knowledge” (Groenendael 1985: 24) that certainly is not revealed to a foreign researcher. I would probably not be ready to receive it; or are we really impervious to information until we are ready for it?

For the last four months of my fieldwork, I lived in the house of dalang pak Mardi and his family. He told me that there are stories that compel greater preparation for a dalang, as for purification ceremonies (*ruwatan*), but are increasingly rare and very few dalang are able and/or have courage to do it. He was inclined to explain me, through the life aspects of *hidup kehidupan penghidupan*, how this preparation is simple in concept and down to earth. *Hidup* is the lapse of time and where we live until we die. *Penghidupan* is our livelihood, something produced to be used in our lives. *Kehidupan* is what we can enjoy from the process of life and livelihood. Material wealth is therefore not the end, nor the purpose, but none of these life facets should be overlooked. This is what drives him and this is what he is training for daily.

From conversations with people not only involved in wayang, *rasa* seems to be something perceived on the surface of the body and appropriated inwardly. Something similar to what Richard Schechner related: “what was outside is transformed into what is inside” (Schechner 2001: 29). It is also the heart where everything should happen. And again it is the attitude, propensity to harmonize and unify with the surroundings, then God *manunggaling kawula gusti*. A young Javanese musician, while making a wayang puppet said to me that while both making wayang and playing gamelan he has a similar *rasa*, “something like flowing, meditating” – in his words.

In the couple of lessons I took of *jemparingan*, Yogyakarta archery sitting cross-legged, I was told to adopt an approach that I have found similar to that encouraged in wayang. Before grasping the bow *gendhewa*, it is fundamental to search for a comfortable cross-legged sitting position, in the sense of enjoying and

being relaxed. Just after that, the bow can be held smoothly, as the function is to hold, but not to tighten. Looking in the direction of the target, self-confidence, full power, a straight body and concentration are required. Releasing the arrow, the archers hold their breath in order to die and be united with the gendhewa, a dead object. So doing, an inanimate object and a live object converge, or menyatu. The better the breath meditation, going deep into and following the bow, the less the bow shakes. First, one must be fused with the dead object. Second, one should be slow, focused, calm, relaxed, enjoying, without stress. Third, one must have a feeling of optimism, and of being confident – “I can, I’m able, I’m strong with spirit, semangat” – without hesitating.

Similarly, the four elements of concentration, dynamism, self-confident humility and resolution for balance are found in dance (Hughes-Freeland 1997b: 476) and are needed in wayang too. Rasa is trained and is in self-learning. For children especially it assumes a play mode. Professor pak Udreka told me that he had liked wayang kulit since he was a child, although he was not from an artist family. He used to ride his bicycle, no matter how far away, to attend wayang kulit performances until sleeping there and came back home the next morning. He liked wayang kulit so much that he himself constructed simple puppets with twigs and blades of grass, as he could not afford a leather puppet. So he started playing with the puppets when a child, until he became a senior dalang.

How to rise, develop and encourage kids’ interest in and enjoyment of wayang? Does the concept of rasa and attitude fall into colonial construction too? And if so what would change for wayang practitioners and followers?

The young generation - *Generasi muda*

Wayang lovers and practitioners often celebrate wayang as a means to educate people and instil moral values, as well as preserving culture and entertaining. It follows that much attention is lent to the moral, philosophical and ethical *wayang* contents and values, as the large amount of publications on these issues proves. The importance paid to the pedagogical aspect of wayang is nowadays even more enhanced through numerous publications aiming to introduce wayang to the youth. A series of booklets entered schools in order to introduce children and young people

to wayang, its characters, stories and performances. These materials present wayang knowledge as a meal ready to be swallowed: wayang as a “high” cultural tradition that must be maintained, and often also emerges in programmes directed at the “young generations”.

The importance of arousing interest in and transmitting wayang knowledge and values to the young and new generations is emphasized, due to the awareness that its projection towards the future is required and fundamental for wayang to remain alive. In this direction, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed on account of the UNESCO programme in order to develop an intersectional network among Sena Wangi (Indonesian Wayang Secretariat), Pepadi (Indonesian Puppeteers/Pedalangan Union) Provincial Secretariats, ISI (Indonesian Arts Institute), STSI (Indonesian Arts University), and private wayang training centres (PDMN Surakarta and Habiranda Yogyakarta). Pepadi is nowadays spread across twenty-four provinces.

Kondang Sutrisno, the new chairman of Central Pepadi settled at Jakarta, replacing the previous chairman Ekotjipto, indicated “Wayang for Youths” (*Wayang untuk Generasi Muda*) as the main theme for the period 2015-2020 under his management. Education (*pendidikan*) and continuation (*meneruskan wayang*) constitute the key words of the Pepadi mission.

“Not surprisingly, many children are more familiar with Naruto, Aang, Barbie and Spongebob than Ghatotkacha, Arjuna and other wayang characters. There is no harm in recognizing foreign characters as far as the locals are known. After all, the characters of local arts have demonstrated exemplary personalities and noble characters. In wayang figures so much philosophy and teaching are contained that when unwrapped they are as endless as when the human character is explored” (PEPADI).

Learning processes and practical transmissions are not considered. It might be because wayang was based on father-son and master-apprentice transmissions, so it occurred orally and in practice. However, not so recently wayang was introduced into the formal education system, with all the changes mentioned previously, above all the production of handbooks and more recently DVDs for guiding new learners. At the same time, various sanggar pedalangan following more

informal modalities are spread nowadays in the province of Yogyakarta. Among them is *sanggar Ayodya*,¹³ in Sembungan, Bangunjiwo, Kasihan, Bantul.

The host pak Juaraaya is a *budayawan*.¹⁴ Since he was a child he has been learning Javanese art, especially dance (*tari*) and chant/singing (*tembang*). Next to his house, in an inherited *pendopo*,¹⁵ with his family he gathers the neighbourhood for rehearsal and performances. Of note is the dance *Langen Mandra Wanara*, which is not practised elsewhere (Dinas Kebudayaan DIY 2014: 15). When pak Juaraaya retired from the governmental employ concerning cultural affairs, he was invited in 2009 by Pepadi Secretariat of Bantul district to introduce pedalangan for children and teenagers, free of charge. Pepadi politics aim to regenerate wayang, under the conviction that otherwise the art – considered as one of the pillars of Javanese cultural identity and a noble cultural heritage recognized internationally – would disappear.

With time sanggar Ayodya became enthused also by children coming from districts other than Bantul such as Kulon Progo, Sleman and Yogyakarta city. Thus actually there are two groups of pedalangan training gathering at the same sanggar: Ayodya for children residents in Bantul; and *Badranaya*¹⁶ for children coming from outside of Bantul. A total of fourteen children are actively enrolled in puppetry. For pedalangan trainings, pak Juaraaya helps teach vocality of *suluk* and *antawacana*, while Ki Alip Biyono, a graduate of pedalangan ISI Yogyakarta and employed at the Department of Culture and Tourism of Bantul, is responsible for teaching puppetry skills and knowledge.

Among other activities, regular performances in cooperation with the Department of Culture and Tourism of Bantul, Rumah Budaya Tembi, radio stations and Jogja TV took place. According to the Javanese calendar, on the eve of every

¹³ The name *Ayodya* refers to the birthplace of Rama (Hindus god, avatar of Vishnu), according to the Ramayana. Ayodya was the capital city of Rama's kingdom and setting of the epic Ramayana. The town of Ayodhya is located in Uttar Pradesh, north India, on the bank of the Sarayu river and is one of the seven Hindus holy centres (*Sapta Puri*). Moreover some traced back the name of Yogyakarta city to Ayodhya.

¹⁴ Budayawan is someone who has cultural knowledge or is involved in the field of culture. They often share knowledge and skill. Philosophers, religious experts, and writers are usually called budayawan.

¹⁵ Pendopo is a large pavilion-like structure built on columns.

¹⁶ The name *Badranaya* refers to *Kyai Lurah Semar Badranaya*, the main clown/servants (*punakawan*) character in Javanese wayang.

jumat legi night, a wayang kulit performance is held at pendopo *Rumah Budaya Tembi* in order to preserve and develop wayang art. Before the main dalang, young puppeteers (*dalang mucuki*) are invited to perform a shortened story for about an hour from 8 to 9 pm, as a form of encouragement.

In August 2016 an all-night wayang kulit performance was held at Sanggar Ayodya. The puppeteer Ki Alip Biyono performed the story (lakon) “Semar Gugat”. Wayang lovers and the audience of that night had confirmation that Semar is a faithful protector. Semar is a god manifest or incarnate as human with a very long life, the image of fidelity and eternity. From Manumayasa until Arjuna, for more than seven generations, Semar is a guardian. Therefore if, as in this story, Arjuna wants to kill Semar, who has cared for him since he was a baby, it is unbelievable. Is Arjuna going mad? In the reign of Hastina, Arjuna has a new teacher, Wisuna, who asked Arjuna to kill Semar. Incredulous too, Arjuna meets Semar and asks for mercy. Semar is very sorry and disappointed at Arjuna’s attitude, but he invites Arjuna to do what was asked: to kill him. Without thinking any further, Arjuna thrusts his dagger (kris pusaka) in Semar’s chest and Semar dies. In Ardi Tunggal heavens, at the presence of the ruler Sang Hyang Wenang, Semar sows chaos on the world, an upside-down era: good becomes evil and evil becomes good. Noble rules are rejected and nonsense orders have many followers. All that turbulence is entrenched in Hastina by Wisuna, whose presence spreads anxiety and generates conflicts. Wisuna killed Semar with the intermediation of Arjuna, threatens Krishna and wants to thwart Baratayudha too. Semar, suspecting Wisuna, asks for permission and blessing to expel the source of trouble and harm. Receiving his blessing by Sang Hyang Wenang, Semar becomes young again and achieves the mission before dawn, defeating Wisuna and his assistant, respectively the incarnations of Batara Guru and Batari Durga. Once Wisuna disappears, the reign of Hastina returns in safety and peace as before (Herjaka 2016).¹⁷

Some pupils attended the performance of their teacher at the same sanggar in which they used to train. On other occasions, some had the chance to open the performance as *mucuki*, while in 2017 four of the pupils participated in the 7th

¹⁷ Available online in Indonesian: <https://www.tembi.net/2016/10/31/semar-gugat-mengusir-kuasa-jahat/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

Festival Dalang Cilik. This is an annual festival held in front of the Museum of Education (Museum Pendidikan) at the University Negeri Yogyakarta. Assembled according to age, children from DIY province compete in performances of twenty minutes each.

Festivals and competitions of young dalang are held at the local and national level. The local competition *Lomba Local Dalang Cilik DIY*, held in September, saw young dalang coming from families or sanggar of the five DIY districts or kabupaten (Kota Madya Yogyakarta, Bantul, Gunung kidul, Sleman, Kulonprogo) challenge each other at the provincial level. The children up to twelve years old perform a thirty-five-minute wayang story in front of a jury of experts that announce the two winners who get access to and will participate in the next national level. The national competition *Lomba Nasional Dalang Bocah* is held in Jakarta in November.

Sanggar Seni Budaya Bhuana Alit meanwhile has another story. The young Indra Setiawan installed this sanggar at his family home, in Ganjuran, Bantul, DIY. In this area there is a Roman Catholic church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, better known as Ganjuran church. Many Catholic families live in the surroundings, while more and more mosques are built in the villages.

At his house/sanggar Indra started to make leather puppets representing Catholic characters *wayang wahyu*.¹⁸ According to Indra, wayang wahyu was an initiative of the priest D. Adisoedjono. During a debate session held between the priest Bruder Thimotheus and wayang experts from ASTI and KONRI, it was agreed to make wayang wahyu with the peculiar characteristics of drawing the face and body similar to human forms. February 2, 1960 was then set as the birthdate of wayang wahyu. Indra said that he was a fervent Catholic too, but suddenly when he got a temporary job at the Sonobudoyo museum, he started to fully dedicate himself to the discovery of Javanese culture, on the path both of kejawen and wayang. In 2015-2016 he enrolled in the AKNSBY course of puppet making, while at the same time studying management. After a one-year course at AKNSBY, he studied drawing wayang beber with an old master in Surakarta and on October 1, 2017 inaugurated the museum wayang beber Sekartaji at his place.

¹⁸ Official website online: <http://www.wayangwahyu.com/>, last accessed May 31, 2020.

Throughout his personal formative path, Indra shared his passion for wayang and Javanese culture with the children of his neighbourhood. In the afternoons he used to receive them in the front space of his family house, the *sanggar*. They shared leisure activities together, alternated with Javanese writing (*huruf jawa*), wayang drawing, and English speaking. After Indra obtained a mini set of gamelan unused by the surrounding community, they practised *karawitan* and *pedalangan* with wayang *wahyu*. In special events they performed a short play at the Ganjuran Church. However, he confessed to me that it happened that some parents forbade their children to go to the *sanggar* because it distracted them from their studies or because they thought he was doing this activity for his own interests. However he said there is much children absenteeism at school and what is important for him is that the children enjoy and learn something in the meantime.

He faced this and other problems in the *kampung* and surroundings. For Christmas Eve in 2016, I asked Indra to accompany me to Ganjuran mass that night. The church has a Javanese design and at particular times Javanese features are included in its liturgy, such as the Javanese language and gamelan. The church complex, reconstructed with a Javanese design after the 2006 Yogyakarta earthquake, has a Hindu style temple with a statue of Jesus depicted as a Javanese king or Hindu god sitting inside the cavity at the top of the steps. The priest told Indra that he didn't see Indra at the church. Regardless of his fear of not being accepted by the community, the *sanggar* was invited to join the ASEAN wayang program at Ganjuran church, on which occasion the children made a short performance, as also happened for the Good Friday liturgy before Easter.

Various modalities of learning and training process are assumed in different periods and circumstances. How heritage policies and UNESCO membership is implicated in this cannot be traced with linearity, despite the fact that the central and local government participated and continues to participate paving ways for transmission. UNESCO cultural policies will be illustrated in the next chapter in relation to wayang kulit Palembang and wayang kulit Banjar.

7.

Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in danger?

In the previous chapters wayang kulit – proclaimed a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO since 2003 – was discussed as making and performing practices, and implying the correlation of maker, materials and surroundings. In it, manipulative governmental cultural policies are implicated as well as inter-relational bonds through which practical and ethical knowledge are transmitted and integrated with new individual knowledge, creativity and sensibility as a partial understanding of that world.

If in Yogyakarta in particular, and in Central Java in general, wayang kulit enjoys a certain liveliness, the same seems not to be the case for wayang kulit Palembang and wayang kulit Banjar – they are endangered, according to Sena Wangi (2002)'s dossier for UNESCO candidature. Since none of the styles was performed on the occasion of the Festivals of young dalang held at Jakarta in 2015 and 2016 (during the time of my research), this non-presence urged me to personally meet with some practitioners and/or representatives in order to understand the reasons why they are said to be in danger. With this purpose I spent one week in March 2017 in the city of Palembang, in South Sumatra; and one week in April 2017 in the city of Banjarmasin and Hulu Sungai area, in South Kalimantan. Both the stays gave me the occasion to meet and interview the people involved in wayang kulit Palembang and wayang kulit Banjar practices, respectively. Due to the brevity of my visits, I do not feel able to propose and develop a personal, analytical or exhaustive reflection on the modalities in which both wayang kulit Palembang and wayang kulit Banjar are lived and practiced, if not through the informants' views and words; at the same time the interviews – personally recorded, transcribed and translated from Indonesian into English – offer significant information and raise interesting issues that I do think acquire even more relevance if put in correlation, that is in dialogue, with one another.

Given these premises, in this chapter it seems to me pressing to return the voices and the faces of the individuals interviewed; to contextualize the interviews;

and to describe how I had access to each of them. I attempted to visualize these elements in comics' form in order to hopefully give a more organic vision, provide subtle aspects that could not be conveyed by means of textual transcriptions and by doing so to conduct the reader along this path. For more clarity, the interviews are in chronological order and are grouped in two sections, namely wayang kulit Palembang and wayang kulit Banjar. Each section is preceded by an introduction in order to provide a synthetic contextualization, to introduce the individuals met and interviewed, and to briefly analyze the relevant issues underlying them.

Wayang kulit Palembang

The first impression I had arriving at Palembang was that wayang kulit Palembang and the sanggar Sri Palembang are not known in the area. The sanggar is located in the upper level of the house of Kiagus Wirawan Rusdi. He is a dalang through family legacy, from grandfather to father. Despite the initial support received by UNESCO, wayang kulit Palembang is not so active. Since UNESCO's proclamation of wayang as a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2003, wayang kulit Palembang in the person of Kiagus Wirawan Rusdi and his sanggar Sri Palembang received additional support in 2016 from the Ministry of Education and Culture of Jakarta. Wayang Palembang is clearly considered in danger because of the presence of only one sanggar as custodian – in fact much more in memory than in practice – of wayang Palembang. Haryanto wrote in 1988 “now only Sri Palembang group is left which until 1984 was still trying to survive, but was unable to develop itself anymore. The Sri Palembang Group was founded by Rasyid, a figure who explores Palembang traditional art” (Haryanto 1988: 146).

The need to maintain and reinvigorate wayang kulit Palembang in the case of Kiagus Wirawan Rusdi was clearly induced by the attention and support paid to it by UNESCO, leading to an international recognition. The attention manifested from outside for a local practice, or, alternatively, a family practice, awakens a sense of pride and responsibility: “Who should do it if not those who inherit it?” Wirawan wonders during the interview. The loss of his family members and its associated legacy may also have contributed to reviving the need to seek and embrace the family history, as often occurs with genealogical research for example.

The following interview is with Cahyo Wibisono. He is a young *dalang* who first learnt performing *wayang kulit* by *nyantri*, or accompanying his father, despite resistance from his mother. Cahyo Wibisono's personal story shows the differences of perceptions between *wayang* practitioners and outsiders: "the artist's context is actually more negative than positive, if you see it from a common life perspective" he said from the point of view of his mother, contrary to the artistic path that the son was taking in the footsteps of the father. Later, he studied *pedalangan* at ISI Surakarta in Central Java, where he *nyantri* (accompanied) Ki Manteb Soedarsono's performances. As said in Chapter II, Ki Manteb Soedarsono was invited to perform *wayang kulit* in Paris for UNESCO's ceremony of the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, as Cahyo Wibisono also reminded me.

The interview with him also highlighted his approach to *wayang kulit* in using different devices, languages and conceptual premises in order to capture the attention and communicate with Palembang people, children especially, and just for a second time guide them towards *wayang kulit* world. Concerns about young generations and knowledge transmission both animate and restrain his mission.

The third and last interview of this section about *wayang kulit* Palembang is with Dian Permata Suri. She is the Director of the Culture and Language subdivision at the Tourism and Culture office of South Sumatra Province. From this interview, the issue of authoritative affirmation and negotiation of heritage ownership arises. These processes may give rise to confrontations and conflicts within and between communities and states. In this case, a conflict over ownership between Indonesia and Malaysia occurred in view of the UNESCO candidacy. Dian Permata Suri defended the Indonesian right to ownership over *wayang* and batik. She made reference to the Indonesian people's move to Malaysia bringing their own culture and to Malaysia's lack of culture as well. Leaving aside the apparent nonsense in affirming any place's absence of culture – it would raise the question "what culture is?" – diffusions and origins of culture are often used as a lever to confer legitimacy on heritage ownership. As developed in Chapter II, Trinidad Rico referred to this issue as a "transboundary cultural legitimacy" (2016: 12-13).

Actually, Indonesia and Malaysia are often involved in disputes over the claims of cultural origins, due to many cultural practices shared between the two

countries and a significant number of Indonesian-origin immigrants in today's Malaysia. For example, in October 2007 Indonesia accused Malaysia of using the Malay folksong "Rasa Sayange" (Feeling of Love) as its theme song in a tourism promotion campaign. Indonesia threatened to take Malaysia to court for copyright violations, but the latter rejected the allegation, saying that the song had its origins in both countries and did not belong solely to Indonesia. Indonesian lawmakers have also accused Malaysia of falsely claiming other traditional Indonesian arts as their own, such as batik and shadow puppet theatre. In December 2007, Malaysia dropped two dances that originated in Indonesia from its overseas tourism campaigns following protests from Indonesia. The dances were *barongan*, a traditional dance from Blora in Central Java, and the masked dance *reog*, which originated in Ponorogo, East Java.

Again in 2009 a promotional spot by a private company in Singapore for a Discovery Channel documentary series on "Enigmatic Malaysia" featured Balinese *pendet* dance, fuelling anger in Indonesia. The clip triggered strong reactions in Indonesia, with demonstrations and requests for official apologies from the Malaysian government. As a reaction, the official Indonesian government felt the need to safeguard the cultural legacies and in some extreme cases anti-Malaysian demonstrations and actions were carried out. Dispute over the origins of a variety of dishes in both countries is also a continuous and conflicting issue, sometimes giving rise to public demonstrations.

The paradox, clearly highlighted by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, is that "even those whose culture is declared a masterpiece of world heritage cannot claim ownership to it in a conventional legal sense (...) Intellectual property law is predicated on individual authorship and ownership, but UNESCO's notion of heritage assumes collective creation and, as world heritage, the widest possible collective ownership" (2006: 181). Moreover, notwithstanding the diffused perception that cultural assets are ancient and timeless, they are affected by changes and transformations, thus how could they be ascribed to origins and ownerships?

Regarding wayang kulit Palembang's developments, they are traced back to Java. According to Margaret Kartomi, "Palembang's relationship with early-seventeenth-century Java resulted in the development of the *gamelan Palembang*

and *wayang Palembang* arts” (Kartomi 2012: 183, italics in the text). Wayang kulit Palembang is considered to have developed throughout the eighteenth-century,

“when the sultans of Demak and Palembang had cemented their mutual support by exchanging a shipload of valuable gifts. The ship from Java, according to legend, contained a *gamelan sléndro-pélog* (a *gamelan* tuned in both the pentatonic *sléndro* and heptatonic *pélog* tunings) and a set of *wayang kulit purwa* (ancient leather shadow puppets), also known as *wayang kulit Palembang*, for the sultan of Palembang. The legend also holds that visiting Demak-Javanese artists taught their Palembang counterparts how to perform the *gamelan*-accompanied theatre form, after which it was adapted over the centuries to its new Palembang environment” (idem: 177, italics in the text).

Among many wayang varieties and styles, wayang kulit Palembang is mentioned in the UNESCO candidature due to its endangered status, but also personal relationships, predominantly between Javanese bureaucrats and practitioners. A variety of actors and factors such as economic, governmental and practical are indeed involved in maintaining wayang kulit Palembang active. Wayang kulit Palembang events take place once a year if it goes well, but few people living in the area try to carry it out on a daily basis. Certainly UNESCO contributed to constructing an image of wayang kulit Palembang, at least of – to use Trinidad Rico’s words – a “heritage at risk” with all the limits it might carry (Rico 2014).

Wayang kulit Palembang and wayang kulit Banjar are said 'endangered' cultural practices, according to Sena Wangi's dossier for UNESCO candidature to Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Sena Wangi (Indonesian National Wayang Secretariat) is a national Indonesian organization established in 1975 with the task of coordinating activities for conservation and development of wayang and puppetry art in Indonesia. A team of Sena Wangi members was the motor for UNESCO candidature. The non-presence of both wayang kulit Palembang and wayang kulit Banjar on the occasion of Festivals of young dalang in Jakarta, urged me to personally meet with the individuals involved in the practices in order to understand the reasons why these intangible cultural heritages are said to be in danger.



On March 22, 2017 I took a flight from Yogyakarta to Palembang, South Sumatra.



At Palembang airport my friend Lala and her family came to pick me up.

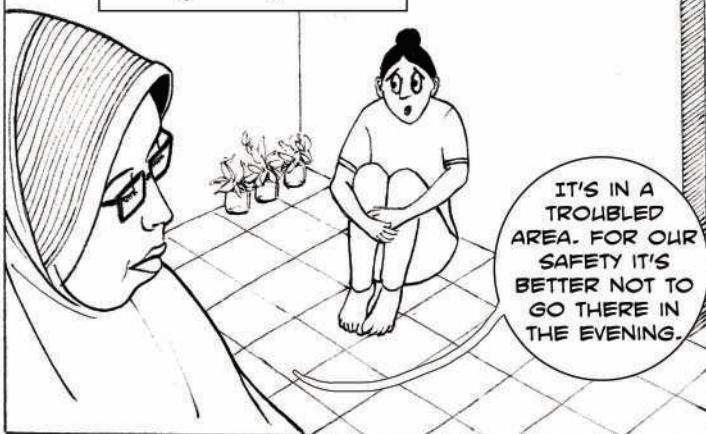


I suddenly felt as if I was on a kind of secret mission.

I JUST HEARD FROM YOU ABOUT WAYANG PALEMBANG. I SEARCHED ON THE INTERNET AND I FOUND THE SANGGAR. ADDRESS.



Possibly a dangerous one.



IT'S IN A TROUBLED AREA. FOR OUR SAFETY IT'S BETTER NOT TO GO THERE IN THE EVENING.

The following day in the morning we went there by motorbike: three people including a child of four without a helmet.

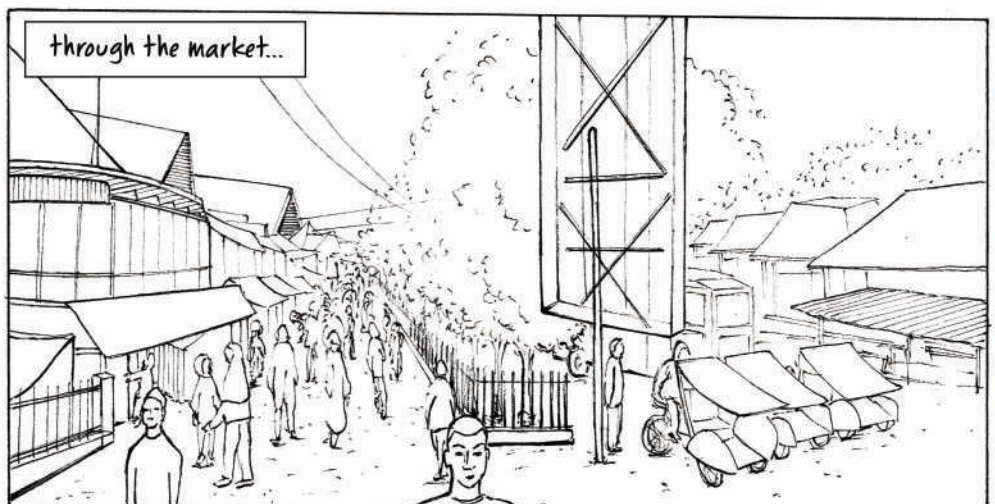


The concept of dangerousness and safety may have different applications in daily life.

Into the traffic...



through the market...



we finally reached the sanggar.

PUT IT INSIDE, IT'S SAFER. THEY LIKE TO STEAL, SOMETIMES MOTORBIKES DISAPPEAR.

KIAGHUS
WIRAWAN
RUSDY

GILHA

The handshake is light, with only half the hand.

Despite not having made an appointment, he wears a shirt with "wayang Palembang" on it.

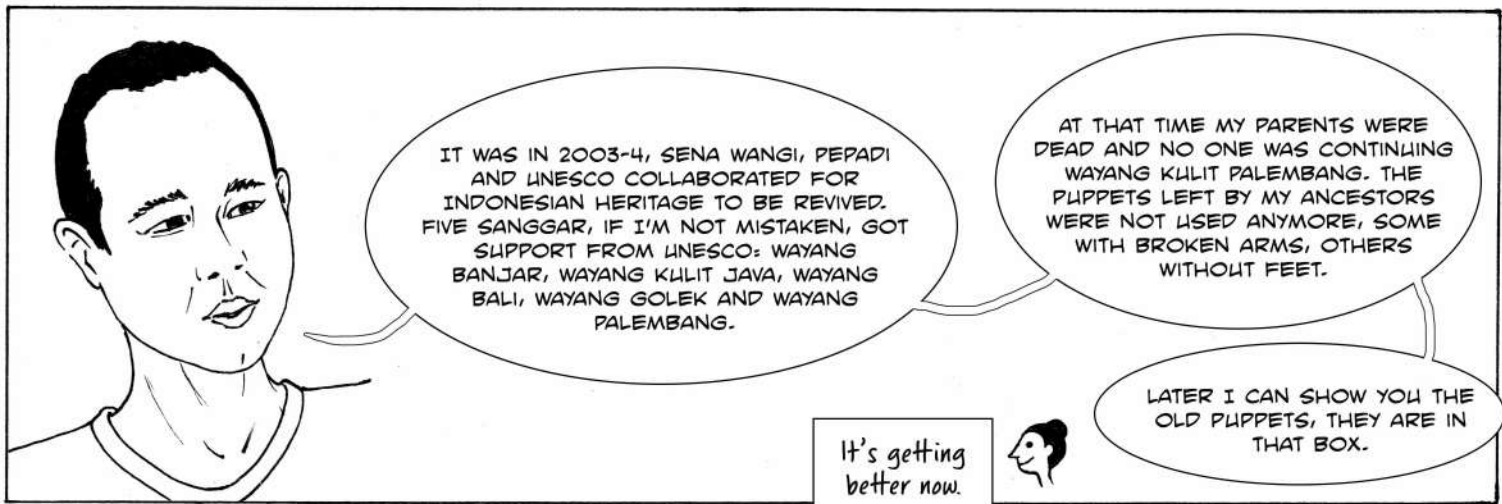
We sat down and came straight to the point.

I WILL RECORD OUR CONVERSATION, OK?

I feel like a journalist searching for hidden stories. He just kept calm.

THE PROCESS OF GETTING HELP FROM UNESCO? I DON'T KNOW. AT THAT TIME I WASN'T A DALANG YET.

Oh no! My journey was in vain.



IT WAS IN 2003-4, SENA WANGI, PEPADI AND UNESCO COLLABORATED FOR INDONESIAN HERITAGE TO BE REVIVED. FIVE SANGGAR, IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN, GOT SUPPORT FROM UNESCO: WAYANG BANJAR, WAYANG KULIT JAVA, WAYANG BALI, WAYANG GOLEK AND WAYANG PALEMBANG.

AT THAT TIME MY PARENTS WERE DEAD AND NO ONE WAS CONTINUING WAYANG KULIT PALEMBANG. THE PUPPETS LEFT BY MY ANCESTORS WERE NOT USED ANYMORE, SOME WITH BROKEN ARMS, OTHERS WITHOUT FEET.

LATER I CAN SHOW YOU THE OLD PUPPETS, THEY ARE IN THAT BOX.

It's getting better now.



I DIDN'T KNOW ABOUT THE NEGOTIATION. SUDDENLY UNESCO'S HELP CAME TO MY PLACE, IT WAS IN 2004. THAT WAS THE BEGINNING OF THIS GROUP. BEFORE, OF COURSE, WAYANG KULIT "SRI" PALEMBANG EXISTED, BUT WITH THE DEATH OF THE GAMELAN PLAYERS AND THE DALANG, IT WAS OVER.

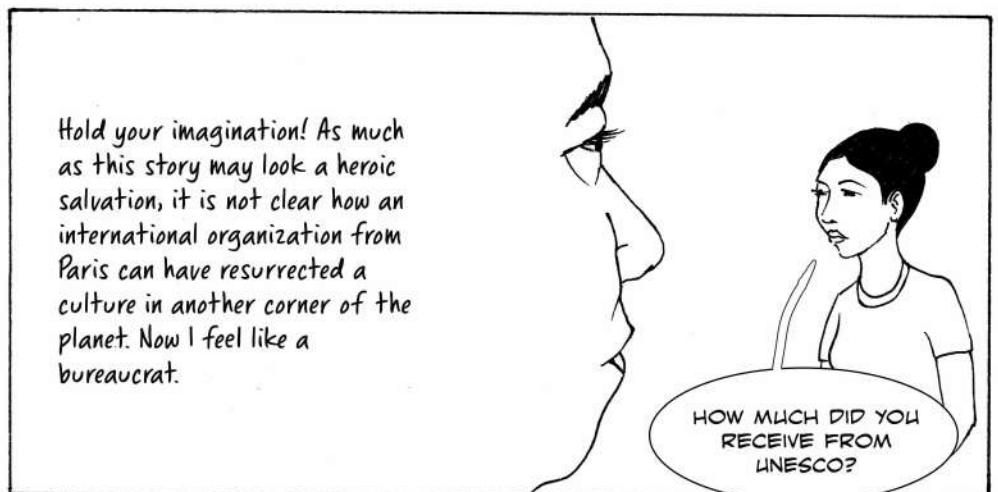


WAYANG KULIT PALEMBANG IS A CULTURE THAT DIED AND CAME BACK TO LIFE WITH UNESCO IN 2004.



A MIRACLE!

UNESCO



Hold your imagination! As much as this story may look a heroic salvation, it is not clear how an international organization from Paris can have resurrected a culture in another corner of the planet. Now I feel like a bureaucrat.

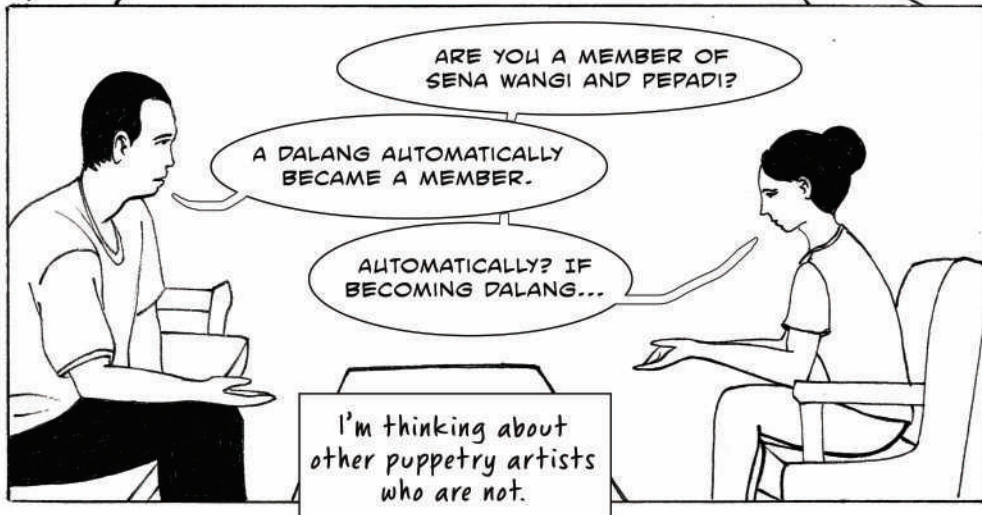
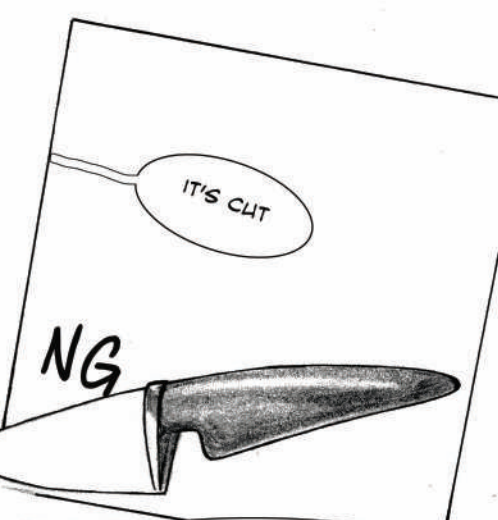
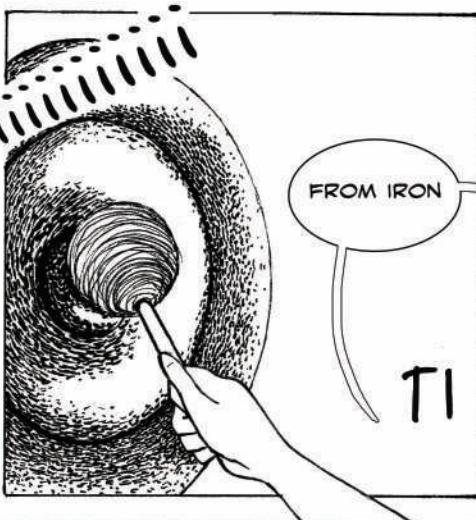
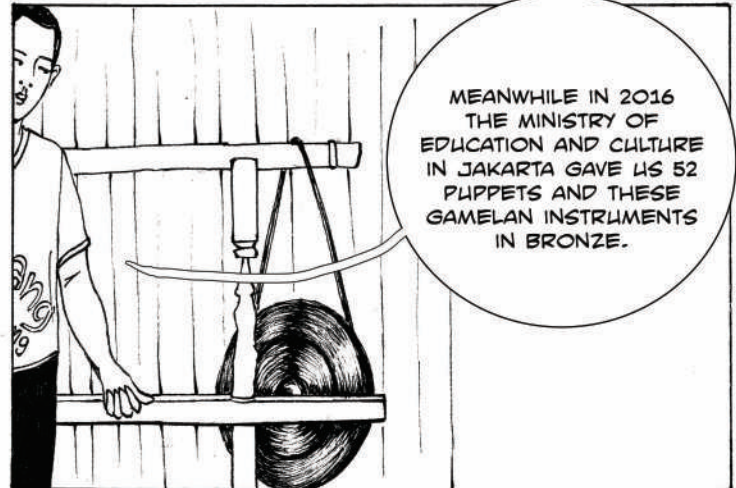
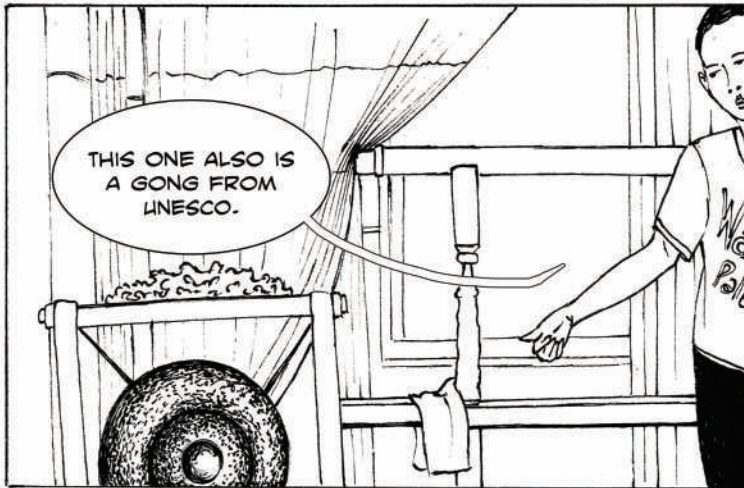
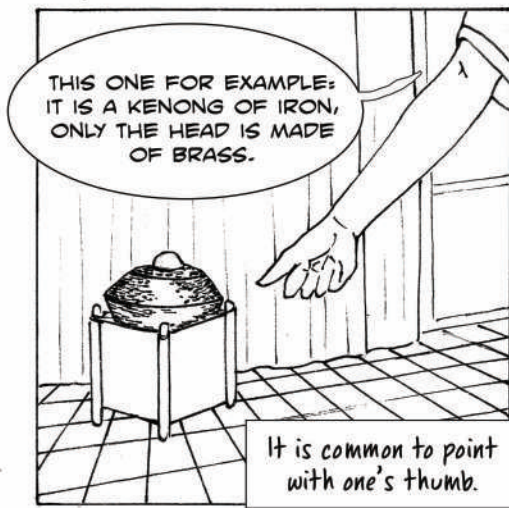
HOW MUCH DID YOU RECEIVE FROM UNESCO?



100 MILLION RUPIAH IT IS SAID, BUT WE DON'T KNOW EXACTLY, WE JUST RECEIVED AN IRON GAMELAN SET, 50 PUPPETS AND 500,000 RUPIAH PER MONTH DURING 3 YEARS FOR THE TRAINING.



IS THAT ONE?



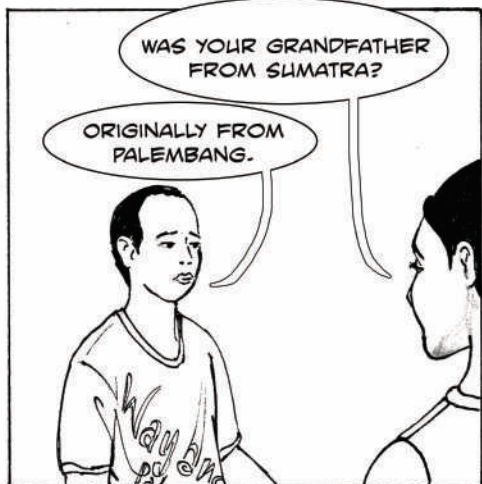


I'M A DALANG BY INHERITANCE: FROM MY GRANDFATHER TO MY FATHER AND DOWN TO ME, BUT WHEN MY FATHER WAS STILL ALIVE I WAS NOT INTERESTED IN BECOMING DALANG BECAUSE I WAS BUSY WORKING AND OTHER STUFF.

AFTER HE DIED, UNESCO'S HELP CAME TO ME. THIS MAKES ME FEEL AS IF I WAS CALLED TO A CULTURE THAT HAS TO BE ALIVE AGAIN. SORRY, SINCE FOREIGNERS LIKE THOSE FROM UNESCO WANT TO BRING OUR CULTURE BACK TO LIFE, WHAT ABOUT US THAT INHERIT IT?

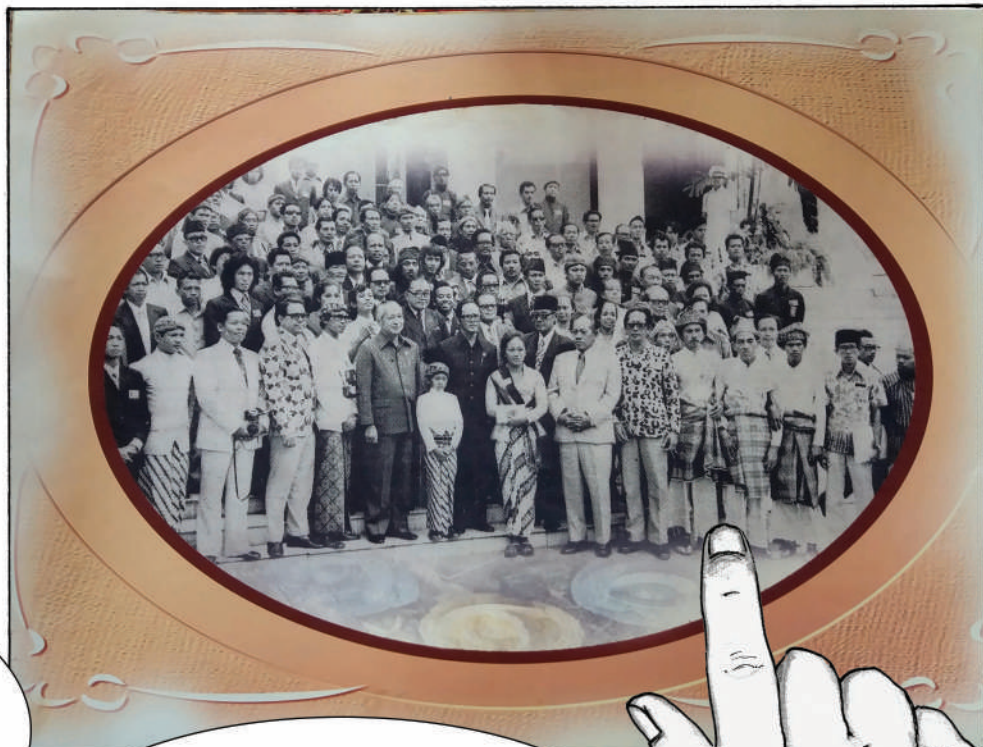
THEREFORE I FELT RESPONSIBLE FOR MAKING WAYANG KULIT PALEMBANG ALIVE AGAIN, HOWEVER GREAT THE RISK. SO I LEARNT AS AUTODIDACT, LISTENING FROM AUDIOCASSETTES LEFT BY MY FATHER. I LEARNT FROM THAT SOUND. FROM 2004 I STARTED TO LEARN AND AFTER TWO YEARS I DARED TO PERFORM.

*A revaluation induced by UNESCO?
Do death or loss provoke a search for the family inheritance and story?*



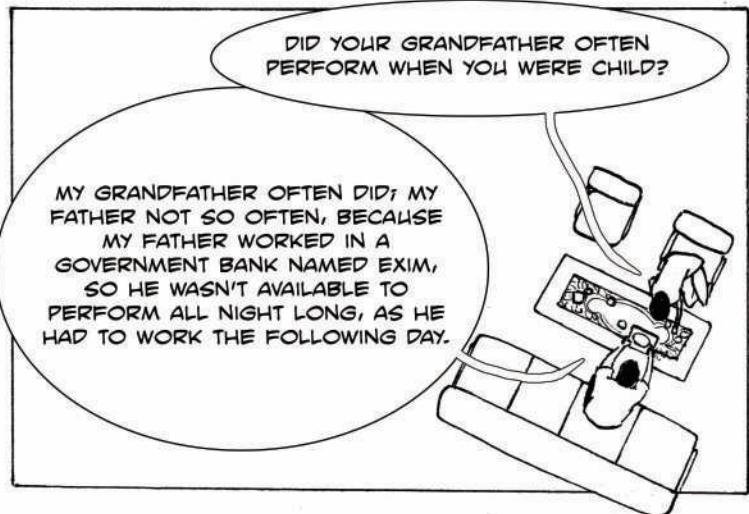
WAS YOUR GRANDFATHER FROM SUMATRA?

ORIGINALLY FROM PALEMBANG.



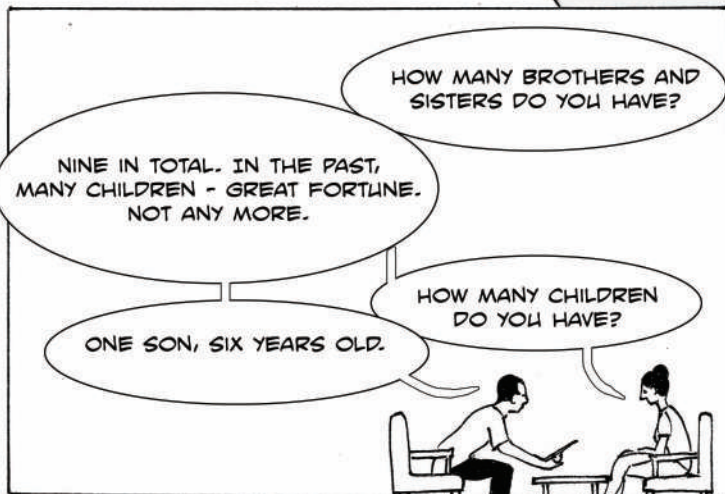
THIS IS MY GRANDFATHER AND THIS IS MY FATHER, PORTRAYED WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO AT ISTANA NEGARA, THE STATE PALACE IN JAKARTA. IT WAS 1978, IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN.

AT THE TIME OF PRESIDENT SUHARTO, WAYANG KULIT WAS ANNUALLY PERFORMED AT THE ISTANA NEGARA. I GOT THIS PICTURE FROM KOMPAS NEWSPAPER.



DID YOUR GRANDFATHER OFTEN PERFORM WHEN YOU WERE CHILD?

MY GRANDFATHER OFTEN DID; MY FATHER NOT SO OFTEN, BECAUSE MY FATHER WORKED IN A GOVERNMENT BANK NAMED EXIM, SO HE WASN'T AVAILABLE TO PERFORM ALL NIGHT LONG, AS HE HAD TO WORK THE FOLLOWING DAY.

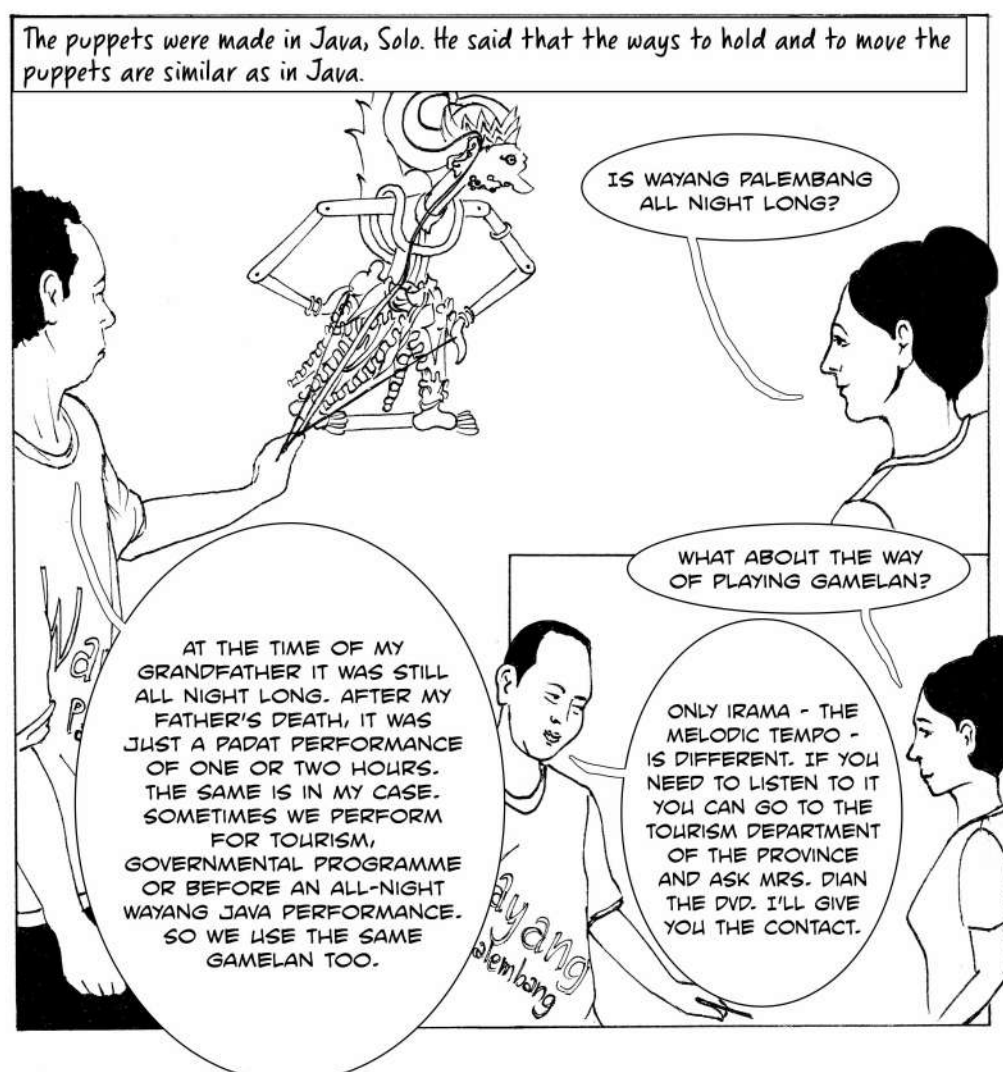
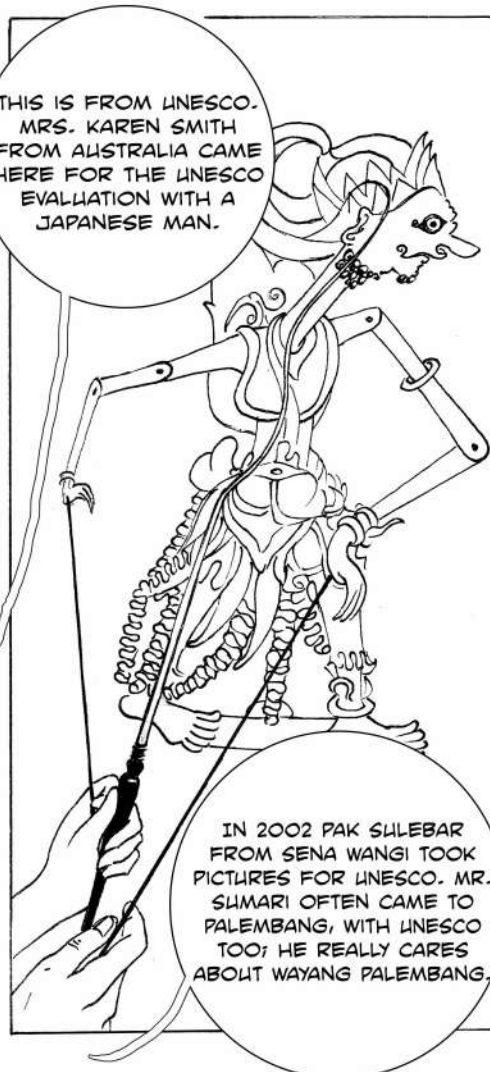
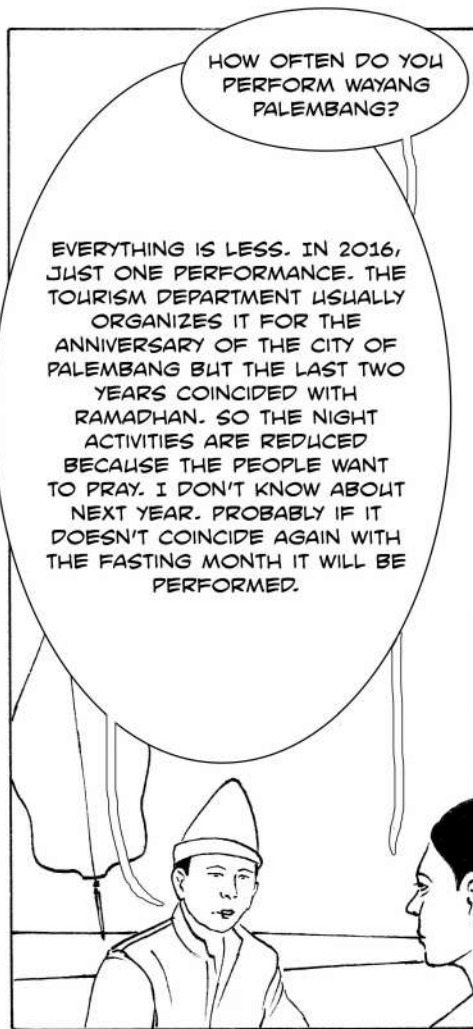
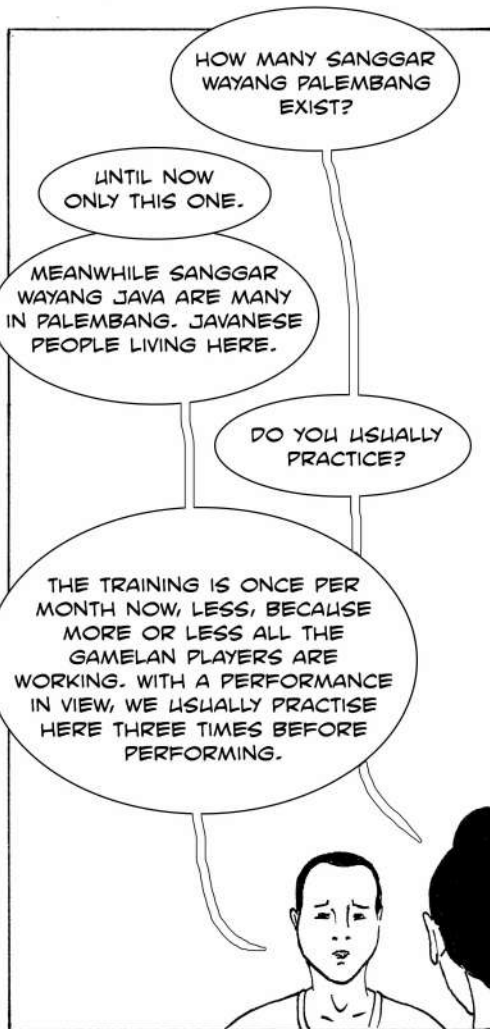


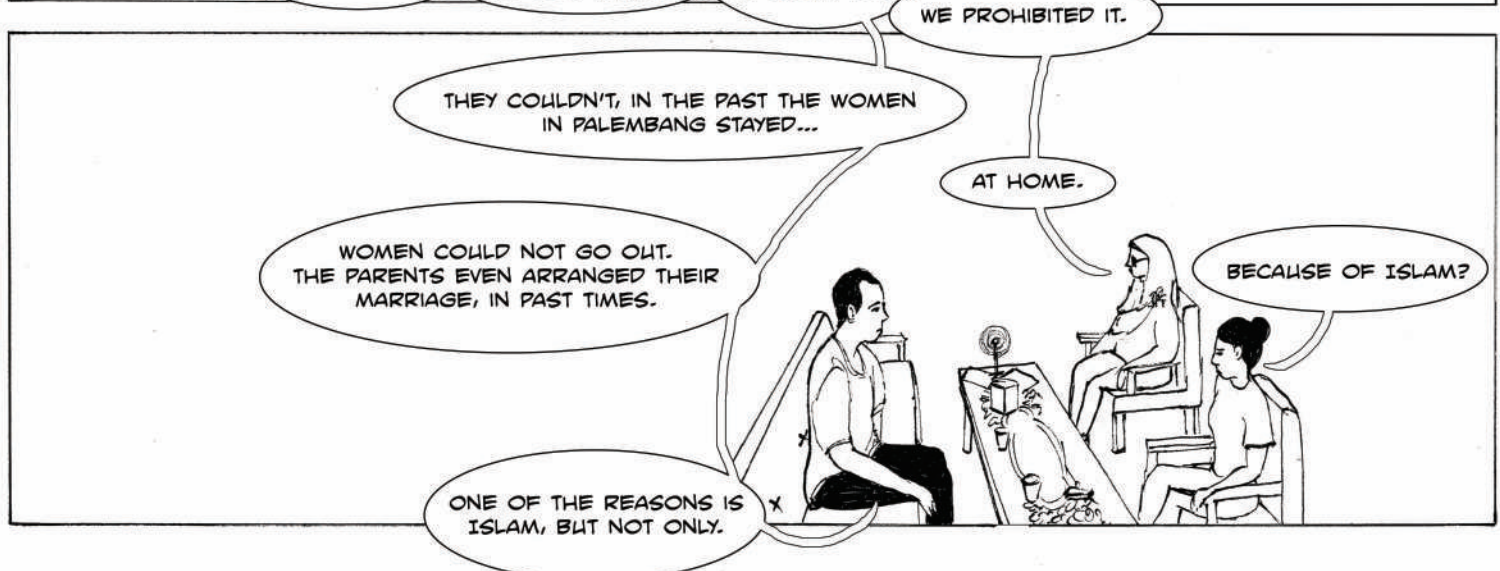
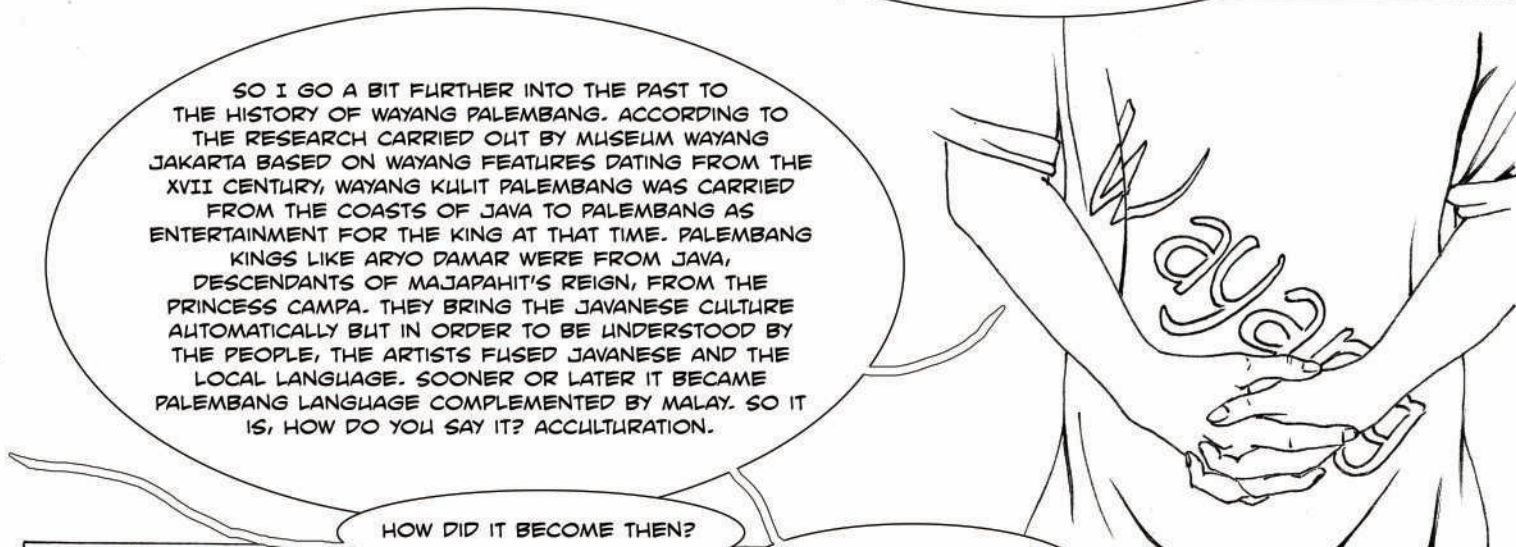
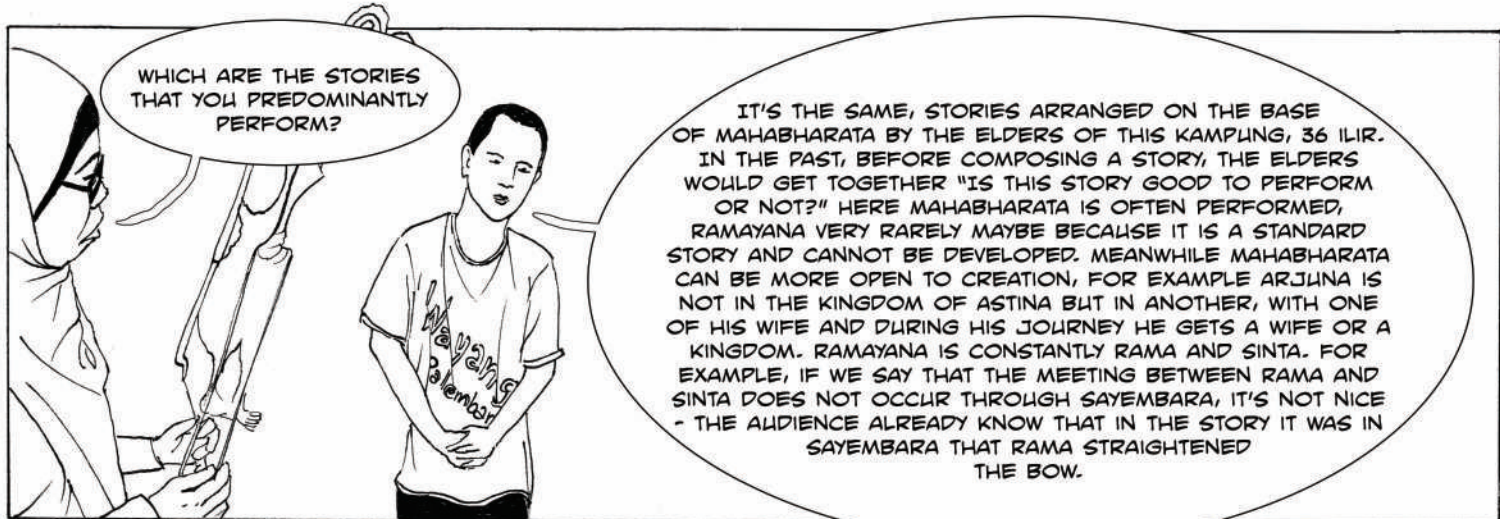
HOW MANY BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?

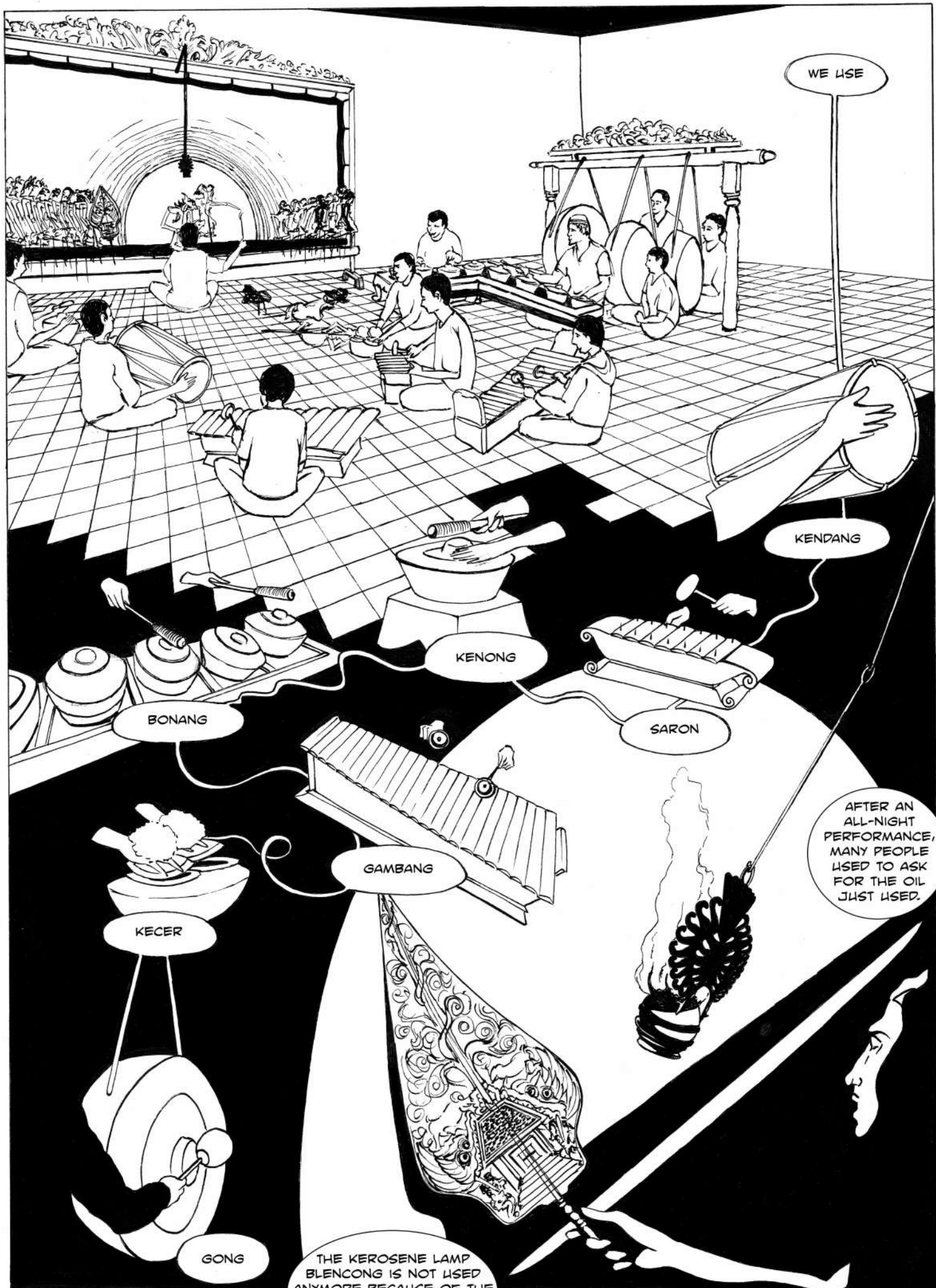
NINE IN TOTAL. IN THE PAST, MANY CHILDREN - GREAT FORTUNE. NOT ANY MORE.

HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE?

ONE SON, SIX YEARS OLD.







WE USE

KENDANG

KENONG

BONANG

SARON

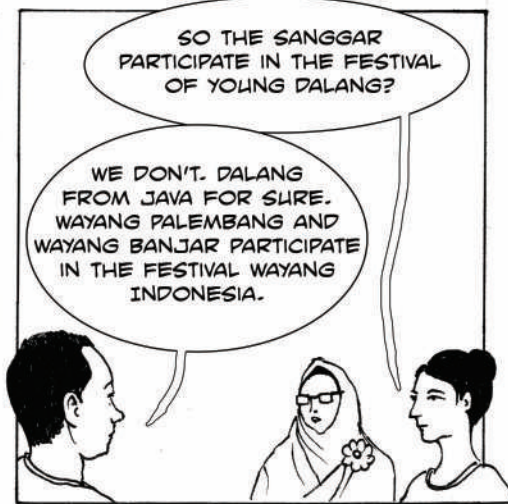
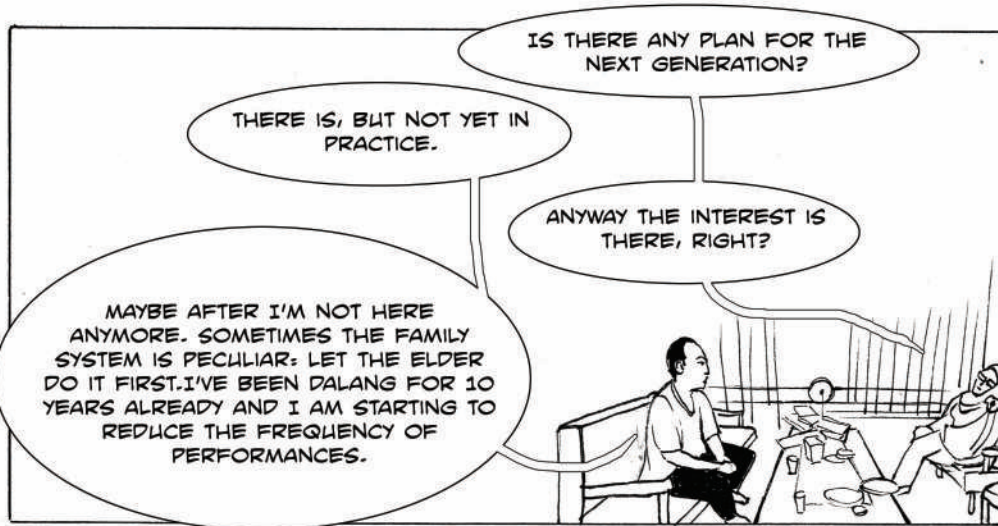
GAMBANG

KECER

GONG

AFTER AN ALL-NIGHT PERFORMANCE, MANY PEOPLE USED TO ASK FOR THE OIL JUST USED.

THE KEROSENE LAMP BLENCONG IS NOT USED ANYMORE BECAUSE OF THE SMOKE AND WITH THE WIND BLOWING IT CAN BE DANGEROUS.

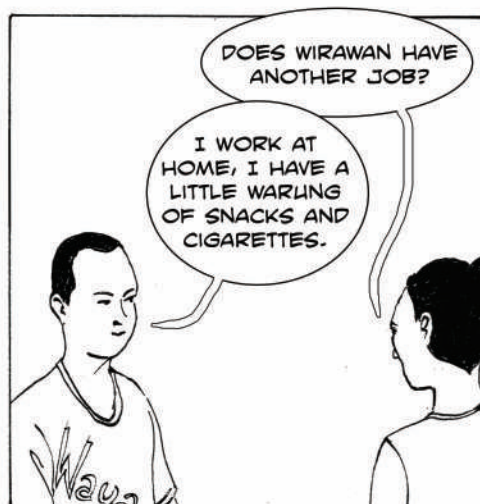
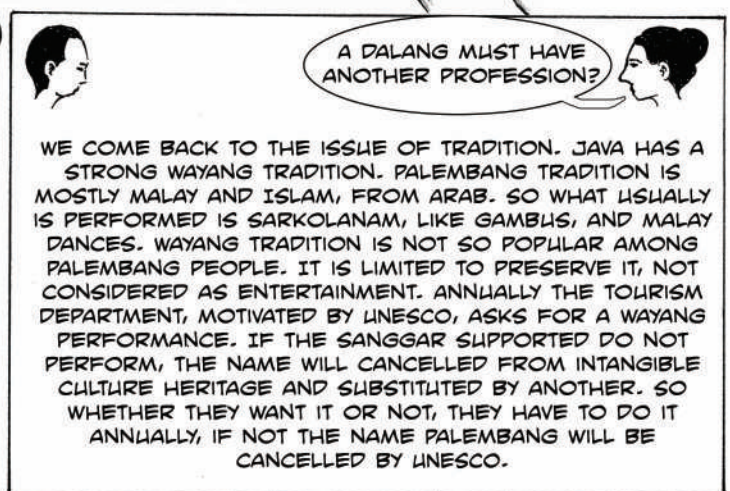
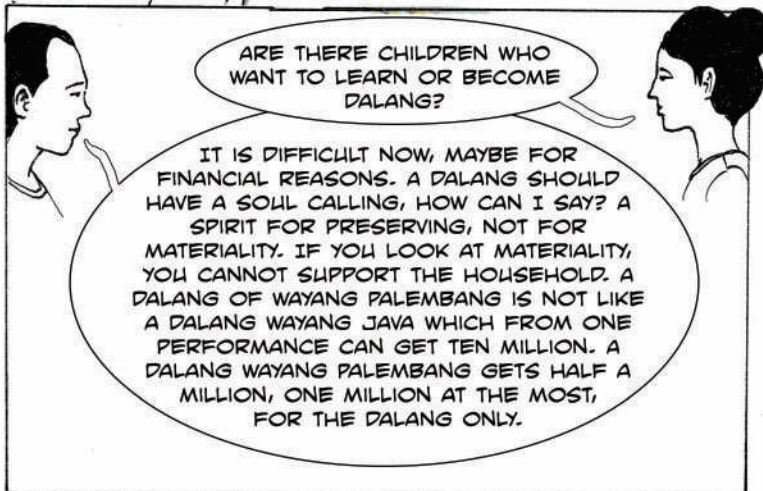


YOGYAKARTA 2008.

WE PERFORMED IN FRONT OF THE TOURISM OFFICE, IN MALIOBORO STREET. AT THAT TIME MR. EKO CIPTO WAS THE HEAD OF PEPADI JAKARTA.



THIS ONE IS THE HEAD OF PEPADI SOUTH SUMATRA, SUBSTITUTED BY PAK SUPARNO WONOKROMO AND NOW PAK JOKO. WHILE PAK SUPARNO BECAME THE VICE PRESIDENT OF PEPADI JAKARTA.





THE HOPE IS TO PRESERVE IT BY THE DEPARTMENT OF TOURISM AND CULTURE. THEY SPONSOR IT FOR REGENERATION. BY FOR MYSELF IT IS IMPOSSIBLE; WE NEED FUNDING. FOR EXAMPLE, FOR THE TRAINING WE HAVE MORE OR LESS 4 CHILDREN. IF WE HAVE JUST ONE WAYANG OF ARJUNA IT IS NOT EASY TO LEARN HOW TO HOLD AND MOVE THE WAYANG. THEY CAN FACILITATE IT. BY OURSELVES WE CAN PRESERVE IT WITH LIMITATIONS, IF THE STUDENTS HAVE SKILLS BUT DO NOT HAVE SPACE FOR THIS JOB? AFTER THEY BECOME DALANG, AT LEAST THEY GET THE CERTIFICATION AND USE IT TO WORK FOR THE TOURISM DEPARTMENT, FOR EXAMPLE. THIS IS WHAT MOTIVATES THEM TO LEARN. BUT IF THEY BECOME IDLE DALANG, IT IS LOST. THERE IS NO POTENTIALITY FOR THEM TO LEARN IT.

HAS THE PROJECT FOR TRAINING THE CHILDREN ALREADY STARTED?



NOT YET. I TRIED IN THIS SANGGAR, BUT AFTER A WHILE THEY DID NOT COME ANYMORE. THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT, THE DEPARTMENT OF TOURISM HAD THE PLAN BUT AS THE STAFF CHANGED, THE PLAN CHANGED TOO. NOT SURE THAT THE NEW STAFF IS INTERESTED IN WAYANG. THE AUDIENCE IS MORE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT ATTENDING DALANG FROM JAVA, KI MANTAB, KI ANOM SUROTO - DALANG ALREADY WELL KNOWN.

IF I MAY ASK, HOW OLD IS WIRAWAN?

22 IN THE MORNING.

AT NIGHT?

22 MORE. MORNING AND NIGHT 44.



A kind of dalang joke?

NO, I CANNOT. THE MATERIALS CANNOT BE FOUND IN PALEMBANG. WE ONLY HAVE COW SKIN, NOT BUFFALO SKIN. I ORDER IT FROM JAVA, YOGYA, TO PAK SUGENG, NOT IN THE CITY. THE PRICE IS THE SAME IF I MAKE BY MYSELF OR IF I BUY ALREADY MADE. BETTER TO BUY DIRECTLY.

CAN WIRAWAN MAKE WAYANG TOO?

DO YOU GIVE DRAWINGS OF THE PALEMBANG STYLE?

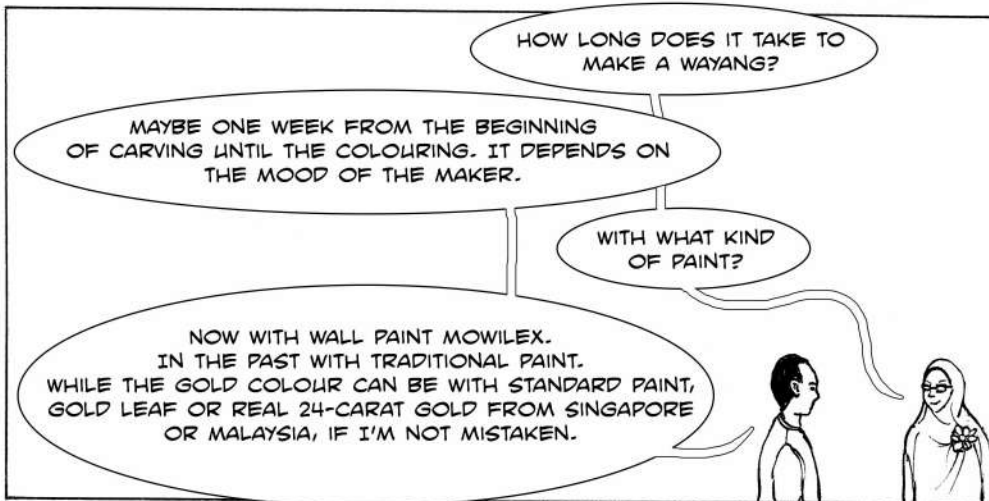
THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE PROGRAMME LASTS 3 MONTHS, TOO SHORT A TIME FOR THE ORDERS, SO I BOUGHT DIRECTLY THE ONES ALREADY MADE IN YOGYAKARTA STYLE. TO DUPLICATE THE WAYANG PALEMBANG, 3 MONTHS IS NOT ENOUGH. MINIMUM HALF A YEAR FOR 52 WAYANG.

HOW LONG DOES IT TAKE TO MAKE A WAYANG?

MAYBE ONE WEEK FROM THE BEGINNING OF CARVING UNTIL THE COLOURING. IT DEPENDS ON THE MOOD OF THE MAKER.

WITH WHAT KIND OF PAINT?

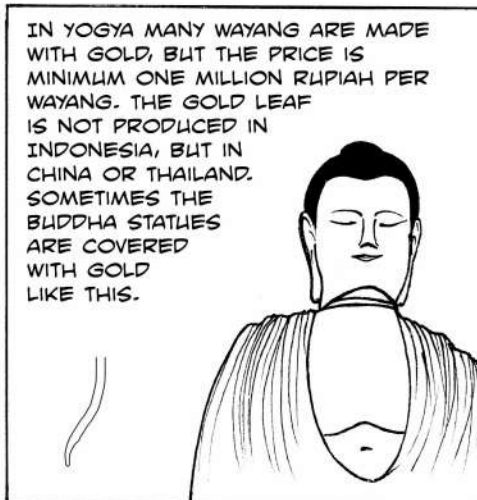
NOW WITH WALL PAINT MOWILEX. IN THE PAST WITH TRADITIONAL PAINT. WHILE THE GOLD COLOUR CAN BE WITH STANDARD PAINT, GOLD LEAF OR REAL 24-CARAT GOLD FROM SINGAPORE OR MALAYSIA, IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN.



IN JAKARTA THE MONAS IS MADE AS WAYANG WITH GOLD LEAF IN VARIOUS LAYERS.



IN YOGYA MANY WAYANG ARE MADE WITH GOLD, BUT THE PRICE IS MINIMUM ONE MILLION RUPIAH PER WAYANG. THE GOLD LEAF IS NOT PRODUCED IN INDONESIA, BUT IN CHINA OR THAILAND. SOMETIMES THE BUDDHA STATUES ARE COVERED WITH GOLD LIKE THIS.



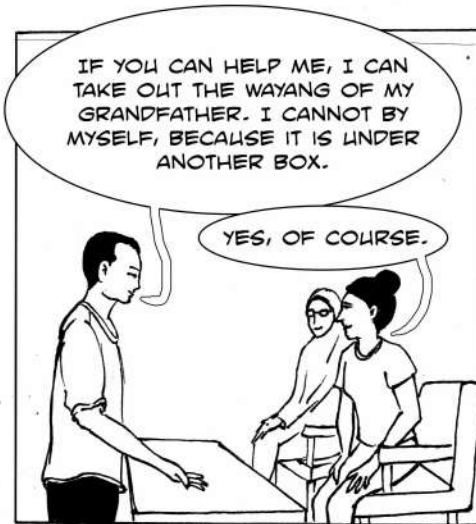
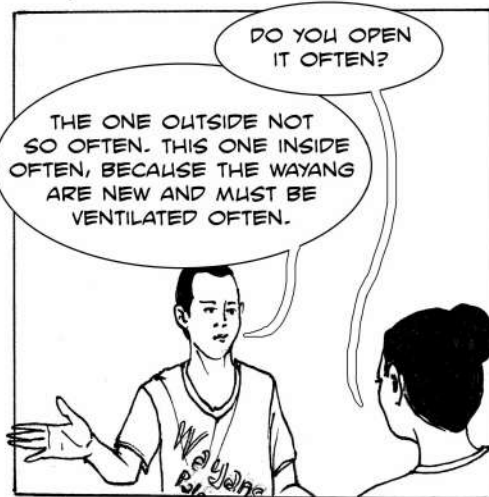
DO WAYANG NEED SPECIAL CARE?

YES, TO BE DRY AND VENTILATED.



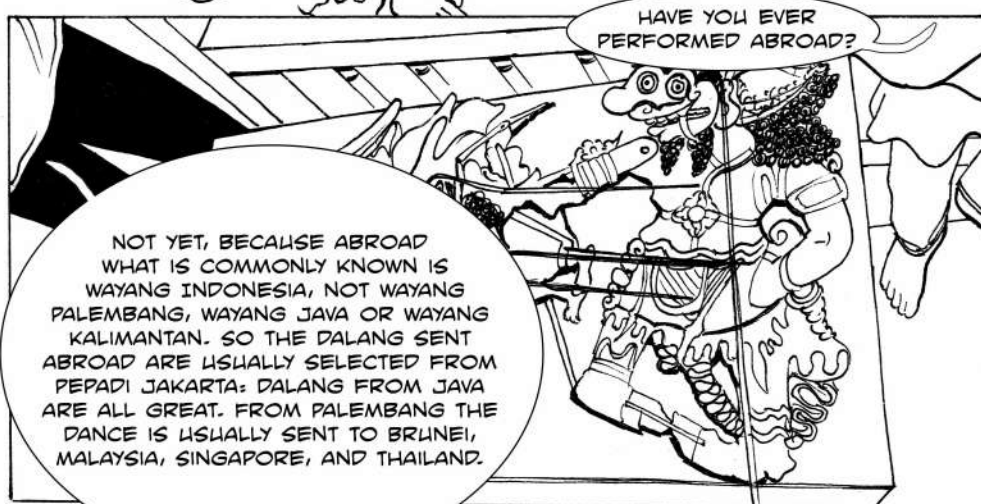
MUSEUM WAYANG MADE A COLLECTION BASED ON THE ORIGINAL MODEL OF WAYANG KULIT PALEMBANG. THEY ARE AT THE BOTTOM OF THE BOX OUTSIDE THERE.

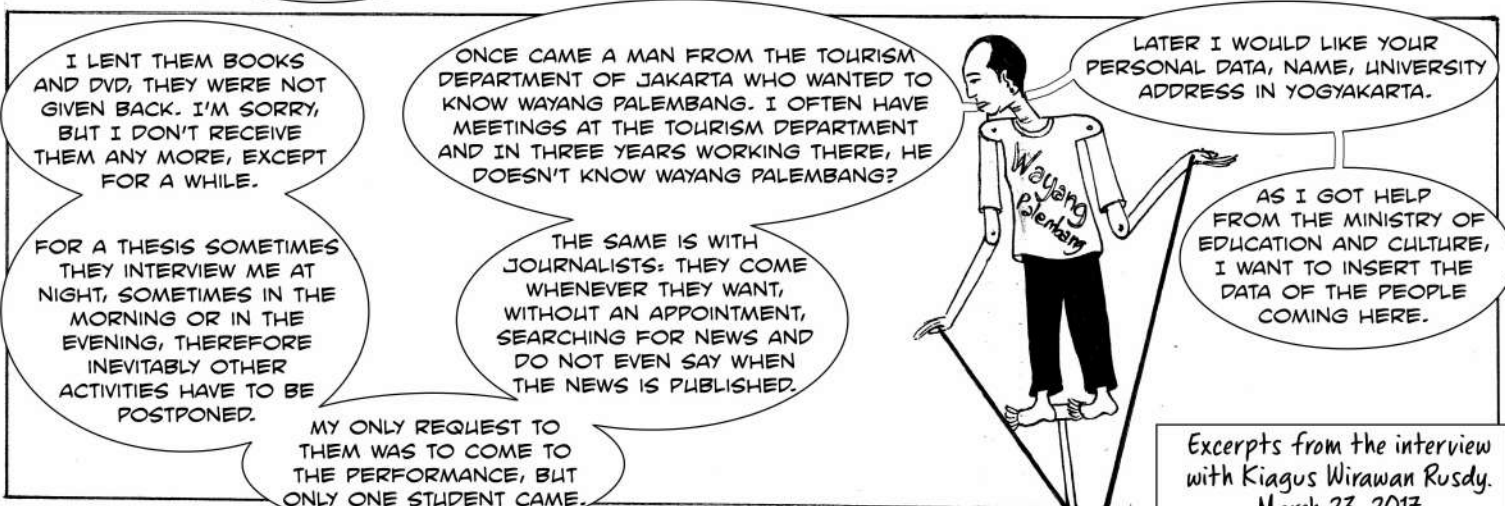
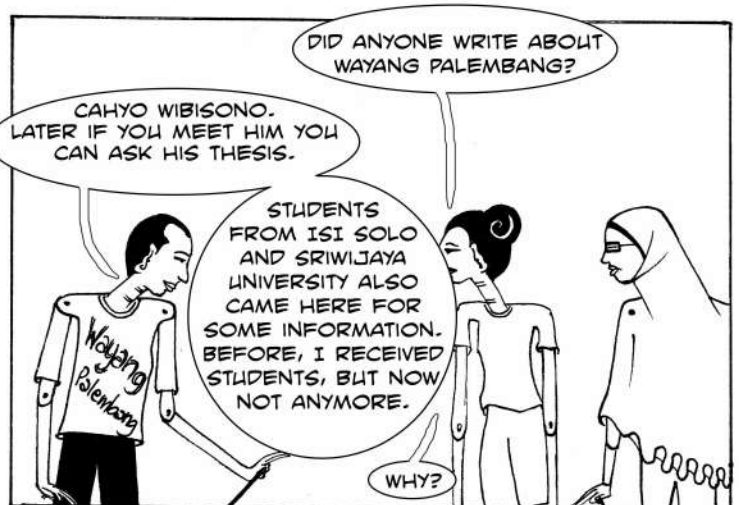
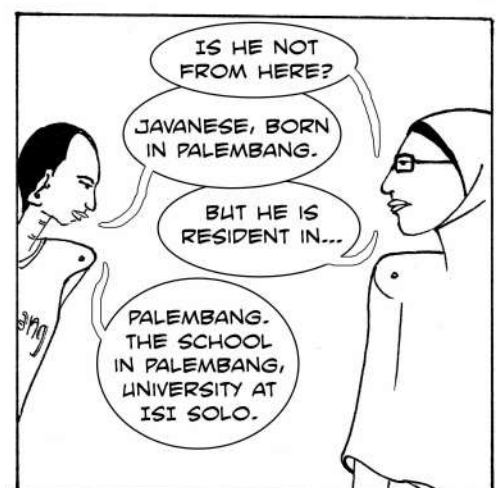
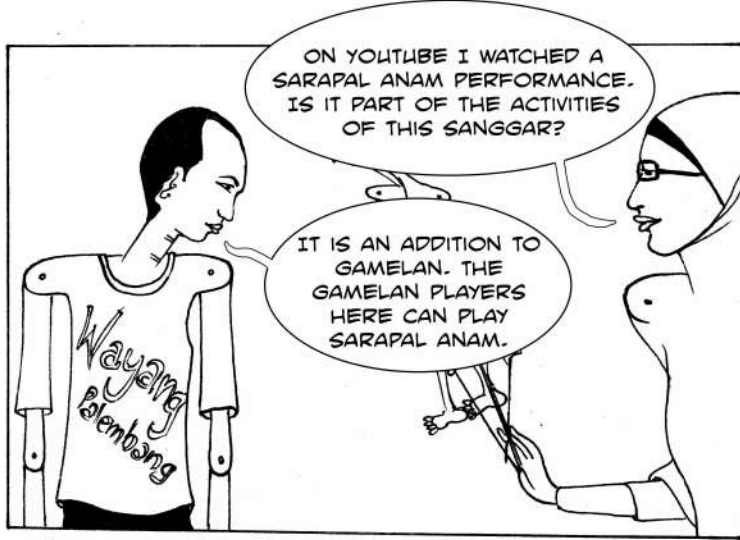




THIS IS ONE OF THE OLD WAYANG THAT IS ALSO IN THE MUSEUM WAYANG JAKARTA COLLECTION. THIS IS MORE REFINED, MORE MODERN, IT REALLY LOOKS LIKE GARUDA. IN JAVA THE NAME IS JATAYU, A KIND OF GARUDA THAT IN THE RAMAYANA TRIED TO STOP RAHWANA, WHO WANTED TO KIDNAP SINTA. RAHWANA KILLED JATAYU. THIS GARUDA IS A KIND OF MYTH, BUT IT IS REAL; THE BIRD GARUDA EXISTS, A BIG EAGLE WITH A CREST. IT WAS TAKEN BY SUKARNO TO BECOME THE SYMBOL OF INDONESIA.

DO YOU HAVE A FAVOURITE CHARACTER?





Excerpts from the interview
with Kiagus Wirawan Rusdy.
March 23, 2017



IN 1998 I GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL. FINALLY IN 2000 I WAS SENT TO SOLO AND I TURNED TO ART, ISI SURAKARTA. MY THESIS WAS ON WAYANG PALEMBANG. BUT I WAS A NAUGHTY PERSON - SINCE 2006 UNTIL NOW 2017 THE THESIS IS STILL PENDING. JUST A LITTLE CLASH WITH THE PROFESSOR.



ACTUALLY MY FATHER WAS ALSO A PUPPETEER, A DALANG DESCENDANT, BUT IN YOGYAKARTA STYLE. PAK TIMBUL NADIPRAYITNO, PAK ADI SUGITO, PAK KI PARMAN AND THE OTHER ALMARHUM WHO PERFORMED WAYANG KULIT IN YOGYAKARTA STYLE ALL PASSED AWAY.



WHAT IS YOUR FATHER'S NAME?

YATINGUTUJO. FROM 1967 HE LIVED IN PALEMBANG. KIAGUS ALMARHUM OFTEN CAME TO THE HOME AND TOGETHER WITH MY FATHER THEY WENT EVERYWHERE FOR WAYANG. HIS ELDER BROTHER KIAGUS RUSDI RASYID ALMARHUM USED TO GO TO SENA WANGI AND PEPADI. AT THAT TIME I STILL FOLLOWED MY FATHER'S JAVANESE STYLE. SINCE LITTLE UNTIL NOW I HAVE BEEN IN THE ENVIRONMENT OF ARTISTS. I WAS 4 YEARS OLD WHEN I STARTED TO JOIN MY FATHER, IN JAVA IS SAID NYANTRI, BUT FOR ME IT WAS WITH MY OWN FATHER. IN THE 1980S IT WAS MORE LIKELY TO GO TO ART THAN TO SCHOOL. IT DIVERGES FROM MY MOTHER'S CONCEPTION. SHE DIDN'T WANT THE CHILDREN TO BE LIKE THEIR FATHER.

WHY?



DOES IT MEAN THAT ART CAN BE ALSO NEGATIVE IN INDONESIANS EYES?

MAYBE BECAUSE THE ARTIST'S CONTEXT IS ACTUALLY MORE NEGATIVE THAN POSITIVE, IF YOU SEE IT FROM A COMMON LIFE PERSPECTIVE. SORRY, LIKE REOG* AND OTHER JAVANESE ARTS ARE KNOWN MORE FOR THE NEGATIVE SIDE. MY MOTHER IS ORIGINALLY FROM PALEMBANG, MY GRANDMOTHER TOO. MY FATHER IS AN EAST JAVA DESCENDENT; MY GRANDFATHER WAS ACTUALLY FROM YOGYAKARTA - RICH IN ACCULTURATION. MY MOTHER GETS EXHAUSTED OF ME.

YES. INDEED THAT IS ACTUALLY TABOO, MOST OF THEM JUST DON'T SAY THAT. THAT'S THE DALANG, CLEVER AND HEAVY ARTIST.

* reog is a performing art in which the main character is a giant with lion-shaped mask and a peacock feather. This dance became associated with Ponorogo regency in East-Java.

IS DALANG SEEN AS A TEACHER OR SOMEONE WHO KNOWS MORE?

PERSONALLY, I HAVE NEVER BEEN SOMEONE'S TEACHER AND I DON'T WANT TO BE, IF YOU REALLY WANT TO STUDY, LET'S DO TOGETHER. JUST LIKE WHEN KIAGUS WIRAWAN CAME TO ME SAYING "MAS, TEACH ME THIS" "YES, I HELP" I WENT ALONG. SO I LET YOU KNOW AS FAR I CAN, WHAT I CAN'T I DO NOT.

WHEN I WAS AT THE UNIVERSITY, KIAGUS RUSDI RASYID DIED AND THEY LOST THE DIRECTION, THEY HAVE NO MORE LEADERS.

WHEN DID IT HAPPEN?

THE DEATH OF KIAGUS RUSDI RASYID WAS IN 2005. THEY ARE ONLY ONE FAMILY LINE, WITH DALANG PASSING BY KIAGUS AMIRUDDIN ALMARHUM, UNTIL KIAGUS WIRAWAN THEY ARE STILL ONE FAMILY. THE SAME IS TRUE IN JAVA, BUT THEY CAN'T DEVELOP OUTSIDE.



ACTUALLY, I AM NOT COMPLETELY COMMITTED TO WAYANG PALEMBANG. BUT I THINK THAT THIS IS THE CITY OF PALEMBANG, AND THE JAVANESE WAYANG GROWS, WHILE WAYANG PALEMBANG IS RATHER LACKING. SO I JUST COLLABORATED IN THAT. KIAGUS WIRAWAN WANTS TO KEEP THE STYLE "PALEMBANG STYLE IS LIKE THIS". I JUST KNOW A LITTLE. MY CONNECTIONS ARE BASICALLY WITH JAVANESE PUPPETEERS.



FOR EXAMPLE, THE GAMELAN ACCOMPANIMENT IRINGAN IS NOT BY THE PATHET SYSTEM LIKE IN JAVA. IN YOGYA THERE IS PATHET NEM AT THE EVENING, PATHET SONGGO AT MIDNIGHT, PATHET MENYURA WHEN IT IS ALREADY MORNING. IN PATHET NEM THE GONG SHOULD BE AT 2, IN PATHET SANGA THE GONG IS 5, IN THE PATHET MANYURA 1.* WAYANG PALEMBANG DOESN'T USE THAT SYSTEM AND EVERY SCENE HAS ITS OWN ACCOMPANIMENT AND OBVIOUSLY IS FREER. WE GATHERED AT THE SANGGAR AND I SAID "I ADD SOMETHING" BECAUSE IN WAYANG PALEMBANG THEY ACTUALLY LOOK TO JAVA, EVEN FOR THE STORIES.

FOR EXAMPLE?

FOR EXAMPLE, SORRY, PRABU INDRAPURA IN PALEMBANG ACTUALLY IS PETRUK DADI RATHU, "PETRUK BECOMES KING" IN JAVA, BUT THE CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM IS DIFFERENT. PRABU INDRAPURA IN PALEMBANG PUTS MORE EMPHASIS ON DRONA SACRIFICE. IN JAVA THEY TURN IT TO POLITICS, LIKE SOCIAL IMPINGEMENT. THEY DON'T HAVE THE POWER OR THE MEANS TO TURN THIS TO THE LEADER OF STATE, THE GOVERNMENT OR WHATEVER.

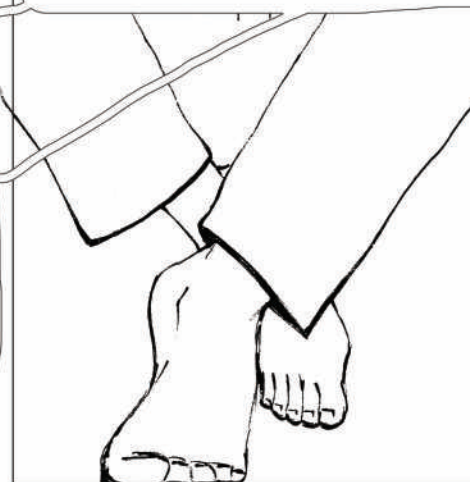
MY CONCEPT ACTUALLY IS NOT TO CHANGE, BUT TO ADD SOMETHING. IN 2009-2010 I WANTED WAYANG PALEMBANG TO BE POPULAR AMONG PALEMBANG PEOPLE. I TRIED TO DISTRIBUTE 350 QUESTIONNAIRES TO STUDENTS, EVEN THE VERY YOUNG. THEY DON'T UNDERSTAND "WHAT WAYANG PALEMBANG IS LIKE" THEY ONLY KNOW JAVANESE WAYANG. I WANT WAYANG PALEMBANG TO BE KNOWN AT LEAST WITHIN THE COMMUNITY. I WAS THINKING OF A WAY TO INTRODUCE IT.



ON MAY 3, 2017 THERE WILL BE AN EVENT. NOT JUST WAYANG, BUT KUDA LUMPING, KERONCONG, CAMPUR SARI, SPIRIT CALL, ART AND CULTURE FOR SPIRITUAL MATTERS. THE CONCEPT IS THAT THERE IS A CONNECTION BETWEEN THE SUPERNATURAL AND CULTURAL, BECAUSE THIS IS ACTUALLY A CULTURE OF SPIRITUAL ART THAT CANNOT BE SEPARATED. WAYANG ACTUALLY IS A TREATMENT. NINI THOWONG FROM YOGYA WILL BE DISPLAYED HERE TOO. THIS IS OUR ANNUAL EVENT, FROM 2003 UNTIL NOW. WE WANT TO COLLABORATE MAYBE WITH WIRAWAN'S YOUNGER BROTHER, KIAGUS HIDAYAT.

WHAT ABOUT THIS WAYANG KULIT GEMILANG?

WAYANG KULIT GEMILANG MEANS BRILLIANT, IT IS MY OWN CREATION. ACTUALLY, I CREATED IT ON THE BASE OF PALEMBANG AND JAVANESE CONCEPTS, MAKING A JUXTAPOSITION OF JAVANESE ACCOMPANIMENT WITH PALEMBANG'S ACCOMPANIMENT. FOR WAYANG GEMILANG A LOT OF COMPLAINTS ARRIVED FROM LEFT AND RIGHT, BUT I KEEP GOING. AS I SAID EARLIER, IN JAVA THERE IS PATHET RO, MO, JI. SO I MADE PATHET LU.



*the Javanese numbers siji 1, loro 2, telu 3, lima 5, enam 6 often shortened to ji, ro, lu, ma, nam are commonly used - as Cahyo does - to refer to the musical tuning of the slendro scale in Central Javanese gamelan music. The other scale - pelog - has seven notes: papat 4 and pitu 7 to be added to the previous ones. The papat 4 is not in slendro scale probably because is unusual in the pelog scale and is not used when modulating between the systems.

IS IT IN THE PALEMBANG LANGUAGE?

IN THE PALEMBANG AND INDONESIAN LANGUAGE, BECAUSE IT IS MORE UNDERSTANDABLE. ONCE IN 2015 I PERFORMED IN SAWAHLUNTO AND I USED PALEMBANG LANGUAGE, BUT THEY CAN'T UNDERSTAND. THE ORIGINAL PALEMBANG LANGUAGE IS ACTUALLY ALMOST JAVANESE.

IS IT ALL NIGHT OR PADAT SHORTENED?



KECEPIT MAYIT?

PADAT. ACTUALLY WAYANG PALEMBANG IN THE PAST LASTED ALL NIGHT, THEN PROBABLY BECAUSE "PEOPLE NOW DON'T HAVE MUCH TIME TO WATCH WAYANG", MOST ARE SHORT PERFORMANCES. THE CONCEPT OF PLAY HOWEVER CAN BE FOUND AGAIN. I COLLECTED THE STORIES FROM WAYANG PALEMBANG AND I TOOK THE JAVAN CONCEPT AGAIN. I AM GRATEFUL THAT I HAVE BOTH JAVA AND PALEMBANG, SO I CAN CONNECT THEM. WAYANG PALEMBANG COULD ALSO BE USED AS RUWATAN (CLEANSING), BUT KIAGUS WIRAWAN DID NOT EXPLORE THAT. IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN, WITH KIAGUS AMIRUDDIN ALAMARHUM THE CLEANSING WAS ONLY USED FOR WHAT IS CALLED KECEPIT MAYIT.

THREE BROTHERS, THE ELDERS DIED AND THE THIRD HAS TO BE CLEANSED, BECAUSE HIS LIFE IS SOMEWHAT MORE DIFFICULT THAN USUAL. THIS IS CALLED KECEPIT MAYIT. IN JAVA, THERE ARE MANY CASES THAT REQUIRE CLEANSING, SUCH AS KONDANG HANTING, IBUR BERLAWANG AND THE MORE. IN PALEMBANG ONLY THIS ONE.

WHY DID I GO BACK TO IBU? HERE I CAN LEARN THINGS LIKE THAT, CONCERNING RITUALS. SO I CAME TO WORK HERE, I GOT REMUNERATION AND I GOT KNOWLEDGE. HERE, ACTUALLY THE CONCEPT RUNS TO KEJAWEN, TO JAVA. IBU AJENG IS FROM SOLO.

THEREFORE HERE IN SUMATRA SOME FOLLOW KEJAWEN.

A LOT. IBU AJENG IS THE CHAIRMAN OF SOUTH SUMATRA, FROM THE FATHER. SOME ORGANIZATIONS ARE MORE CLOSED, WE TRY TO LIVE IN THIS GOVERNMENT, IN INDONESIA, TOGETHER. WE DO AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE TO KEEP JAVA, DESPITE BEING IN PALEMBANG.

IS THERE ANY BELIEF LIKE KEJAWEN IN SUMATRA?

THERE IS! THE BELIEF SYSTEM IN PALEMBANG IS USUALLY MALAY. BATARASMA. BUT MALAY IS MORE CLOSE TO MUSLIM. AFTER SRIWIJAYA, THE PALEMBANG DARUSSALAM

THIS IS IBU AJENG. DIAJENG KARTIKA SARI. SHE IS FROM LAW.

THIS IS OUR LITTLE DALANG, PUTRA KUSUMA, IBU AJENG'S SON.

LEARNING IS FROM CHILDHOOD, LATER IT IS MORE DIFFICULT.

THEN THERE ARE LITTLE DALANGS.

YES, WHAT I MEAN IS LIKE THIS: I WANT TO ARISE INTEREST IN WAYANG PALEMBANG IN CHILDREN FIRST. IN MY WAY, I TRIED PERFORMING IT. FIRST I WANT TO INTRODUCE WAYANG, I WANT TO CHANGE THE CONCEPT OF THE PEOPLE, FROM A YOUNG AGE. IN 2016 I WENT TO THE SCHOOLS.

WHAT DO YOU WANT TO TRANSMIT TO CHILDREN?

AT LEAST EXPLAIN FIRST. PROVIDING EDUCATIONAL VALUES, ACTUALLY WAYANG PALEMBANG EXISTS AND IT IS LIKE THIS. ACTUALLY THERE ARE SOME SCHOOLS WHOSE ARROGANCE IS GREAT.

HOW DID YOU COME UP WITH THIS IDEA, PAGUYUBAN IBU?

PAGUYUBAN COMMUNITY IS ACTUALLY OUR CULTURE IN JAVA, ESPECIALLY SOLO YOGYA, IF WE LEARN ABOUT ANYTHING THERE IS USUALLY A GROUP OF PEOPLE. IF THERE ISN'T ANY COMMUNITY, IT CANNOT BE. I AM FROM SOLO AND IN SOLO I HAVE A COMMUNITY THAT IS ALSO TRUE AUTHENTICITY. WE BRING IT HERE INITIALLY ONLY TO INTRODUCE ABOUT SUPERNATURAL, SPIRITUAL CULTURES. IN 2003 WE MADE AN EVENT IN ORDER TO INTRODUCE IT TO THE WIDER COMMUNITY, THERE MUST BE ACTIVITY THAT IS MATERIAL. SINCE 2003 WE CONTINUOUSLY EXISTED, MAKING THIS KIND OF SUPERNATURAL CULTURAL ART.

HOW IS YOUR EVERYDAY ACTIVITY?

WE KEEP CONSULTING PATIENTS AND FRIENDS EVERY DAY. THEN EVERY THURSDAY NIGHT WE HAVE MEDITATION PRACTICE, FOR PEACE OF MIND; IF WE ARE NOT CALM IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO LEARN ANYTHING. IT'S THE SAME FOR GIULIA COMING FAR FROM HERE, FOR SURE THERE IS SOMETHING YOU ARE SEARCHING FOR.

THEN THOSE WHO COME HERE ARE LOOKING FOR SELF-SPIRITUALITY, RIGHT?

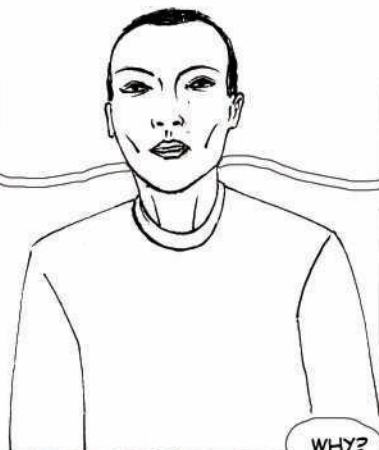
A LOT. WE HAVE A LIFE CONCEPT THAT IF SOMEONE CAN'T CONTROL HERSELF SHE WON'T BE ANYTHING. IF HE DOESN'T KNOW HIMSELF, HOW WILL HE KNOW WHAT HE WANTS? IT'S JUST LIKE THAT. THE CONCEPTION IS SIMPLE. IF WE WANT OURSELVES AND GOD, WE WILL GO WHERE WE WANT TO GO. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT GOD, WHICH GOD? WHICH ONE DO YOU WANT? HAND IT OVER.

I ALWAYS SAY TO CAHYO "LET'S MAKE WAYANG PALEMBANG ALIVE AGAIN"

WHY?



A SOUL CALL, I SAID "MAKE IT EXIST TOGETHER". IN PALEMBANG, AT THE TIME OF MY FATHER IN THE 1970S MOST WERE JAVANESE WAYANG. WAYANG PALEMBANG ITSELF DID NOT RISE. PEOPLE DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT PALEMBANG PUPPETEERS WANTED TO SAY. THE DALANG THEMSELVES, MOST OF THEM WERE JUST FAMILY DEVELOPMENTS. SO IT IS NOT WIDESPREAD OR IT IS INTERRUPTED IF SOMEONE DOES NOT PASS IT ON TO ANOTHER. THESE STATE DEPARTMENT AGENCIES ARE OBLIGED TO SERVE AS MEDIA FOR SOCIALIZATION, FROM GOVERNMENT TO SOCIETY. IN THE END THEY STUDIED HOW TO BE DALANG, BUT THE PERFORMANCE WAS NOT AS REALISTIC AS THE JAVANESE WAYANG.



WHY?

IN 2016 THE SOUTH SUMATRA ARTS COUNCIL HELD A WORKSHOP ON WAYANG PALEMBANG. I WAS ALSO INVITED FROM CENTRAL PEPADI TO SPEAK. THERE WAS PAK SUMARI FROM SENA WANGI, ANOTHER WHOSE NAME I FORGET, THEN KIAGUS WIRAWAN AND ME. I AM MORE INCLINED TO WAYANG PHILOSOPHY, TURNING TO THE CHARACTERS' FEATURES, THE EYES. THE MOUTH, THE EARS, THE FACE, THE SWORD ARE THE SAME. ONLY BY THE EYES WE CAN READ THE CHARACTERS, WHAT KIND OF CHARACTER IS THE PUPPET. I TALKED ABOUT HOW WAYANG PALEMBANG COME ACROSS THIS WHEN SOMEONE WHO DOESN'T UNDERSTAND ART CRITICIZED ME.



"THIS WAYANG IS ORIGINAL, NOT FROM JAVA!" HE SAID. I EXPLAINED THE BIG PROBABILITY FOR WAYANG PALEMBANG COMING FROM JAVA, BECAUSE OF COMMON TRAITS. WHY DID WAYANG PALEMBANG NOT DEVELOP? AT THAT TIME THEY WERE FAMILIAR WITH ORAL TRADITIONS. OUR ANCESTORS DID NOT HAVE PRINTING; THEY STAND ONLY ON ORAL TRADITIONS. WHAT THEY HEAR THEY DELIVER AGAIN, BUT THE WORDS MAY CHANGE AND THE MEANINGS TOO. LIKE IN JAVANESE LER TATIT WILETING GONDHO. GONDHO IS ACTUALLY A SMELL, AROMA. SOMEONE SAYS GODHO, WHICH IS HEIRLOOM. A PUPPETEER SAYS LER TATIP MILETING GONDHO. IT'S A DIFFERENT CONCEPTION. WHEN WE SEE THE WAYANG PALEMBANG CONCEPT ITSELF THEY GO TO ISLAM. THEY DON'T USE BLANGKON, THEY DON'T USE THE AESTHETIC VALUES BROUGHT FROM JAVA. SORRY, MAYBE BECAUSE OF THEIR IGNORANCE. ACTUALLY, IN JAVA THE CONCEPT OF DALANG IS BROAD, WIDE. THE DALANG MIGHT ALSO BE CLERIC, SPIRITUAL AND SUPERNATURAL HEALER AND SO ON. HE IS CALLED KI.

I ONCE SAID TO IBU AJENG "I DON'T WANT TO CARE FOR WAYANG ANYMORE" BECAUSE SORRY FOR SOUTH SUMATRA IS A BIT ...

I ENCOURAGED HIM, COME ON! I THINK THAT PEOPLE CAN'T TAKE AWAY FROM THEIR SPIRIT, THEY CAN'T. YOU ARE A RESEARCHER, YOU'RE AN ADVOCATE, HE'S A PUPPETEER, I'M A SPIRITUALIST. WHERE ARE YOU RUNNING? LATER THE EDGES GO THERE. IF YOU WANT TO GO CRAZY...

IT'S DIFFICULT. THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF IS NOT HELPING.

OLD POWER.

UNESCO, WHO MIGHT BE PEOPLE LIKE GIULIA, WANTED WAYANG INDONESIAN TO COME BACK. FROM THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT ITSELF THERE WAS NO INITIATIVE TO DEVELOP, SORRY.

PEPADI AND SENA WANGI?

I AM ALSO A PEPADI AND SENA WANGI PERSON, SORRY, THEY ARE JUST STARTING TO TAKE POWER. IF WE TALK ABOUT GOVERNMENT IT QUICKLY BECOMES SAD. SO I SAID TO IBU "I'M TIRED OF TAKING CARE".

BUT I GET ANGRY, WE KEEP STRONG, "YOU HAVE TO!" AT LEAST EVERY SIX MONTHS WE MAKE A WAYANG PERFORMANCE, WITH STRENGTH, YOUNG PUPPETEERS. THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT IT IS ALWAYS THERE, SO IT'S NOT DEAD.

ACTUALLY, MY FIRST CONCEPT WAS THAT I WANTED PEOPLE TO ENJOY THEMSELVES FIRST. SO I MADE WAYANG LUX PALEMBANG.

WHAT IS IT LIKE?

WITH ENTERTAINMENT, USING LIGHTS, MODERN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, I MIXED. WHAT FOR? SO AT LEAST THEY GOT IT FIRST. I INSERTED PALEMBANG REGIONAL SONGS IN ORDER FOR PEOPLE TO BECOME FAMILIAR WITH IT.

AFTER SEVERAL YEARS, WITH NO SUPPORTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT, I WAS LAZY. I WENT BACK ON MY PATH, SORRY, I AM NAUGHTY, I AM CRAZY. I RAN TO THE SPIRITUAL AGAIN. IBU AJENG HAS A LARGE COLLECTION OF PUSAKA FROM NUSANTARA AND SHE WANTS SOMEONE TO TRANSMIT IT. IT IS RELATED TO HER SON, IF HE KNOWS WAYANG AUTOMATICALLY HE WILL KNOW THE OTHER PUSAKA AND MORE. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT LITTLE BY LITTLE INSHALLAH HE WILL UNDERSTAND.

DOES MAS CAHYO KNOW HE IS ON YOUTUBE?

YES, ON KOMPAS TV. A FRIEND OF MINE COVERED IT, I ASKED FOR HELP. TO BE ON MEDIA IS THE MINIMAL FOR REACHING PALEMBANG COMMUNITY. THAT WAS A COLLABORATION: USUALLY THERE IS ONLY ONE DALANG BUT I MADE TWO, ONE ON THE FRONT AND ONE ON THE BACK.

DO YOU STUDY WAYANG PALEMBANG SPECIFICALLY OR ...

WAYANG KULIT, ACTUALLY AS WORLD HERITAGE BY UNESCO.

YES. AT THAT TIME 2003 OR 2004, IF I'M NOT WRONG, PAK MANTEB WAS RECEIVED. THAT WAS WHEN I WAS STILL NYANTRI AT PAK MANTEB'S PLACE.

WHEN IN SOLO? HOW LONG DID YOU FOLLOW HIM?

NOT LONG, SIX YEARS IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN. IF PAK MANTEB COMES TO PALEMBANG, HE FIRST GOES TO MY HOUSE.



AND IN PARIS?

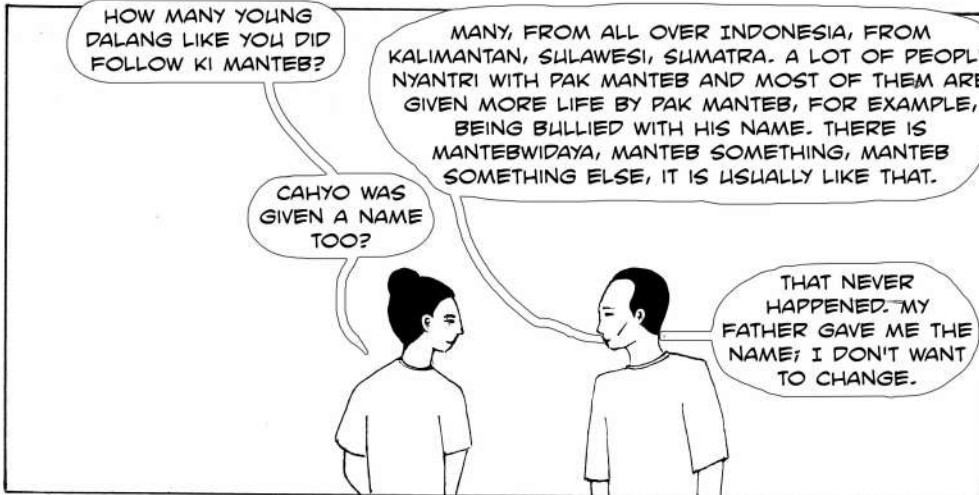
AT THAT TIME I HELPED
PAK MANTEB.

HOW MANY MINUTES DID
HE PLAY, 5 MINUTES?

ONLY 5 MINUTES.



WHEN WE ARRIVED, THE EMBASSY ONLY GAVE US 5 MINUTES TO PERFORM, ALL THE EQUIPMENT WAS BROUGHT FROM INDONESIA. PAK MANTEB WAS PUSHING, "HOW CAN I HAVE ONE PERFORMANCE WITHIN 5 MINUTES?" IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN, THE PLAY IS NAHLANKO. IT MEANS THAT THERE IS A LITTLE DISRUPTIVE SCENE THERE, SITA WITH RAMA, WHO IS THE LAST REPORTER TO FINISH. 5 MINUTES CONTINUOUS, THE GAMELAN DIDN'T STOP. PAK MANTEB AMONG ALL THE PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE. WHEN HE GOT ON THE STAGE THE FEELING BECOMES ONE: HIS HEART BECAME ONE WITH HIS SPIRIT, ONE WITH THE GAMELAN PLAYERS, WITH PAK MANTEB HIMSELF. IN SEMARANG WAS IT WAS 28 FULL HOURS OF CEREMONY. THE PLAY IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN WAS BARATAYUDA UNTIL DURYODANA'S DEATH.

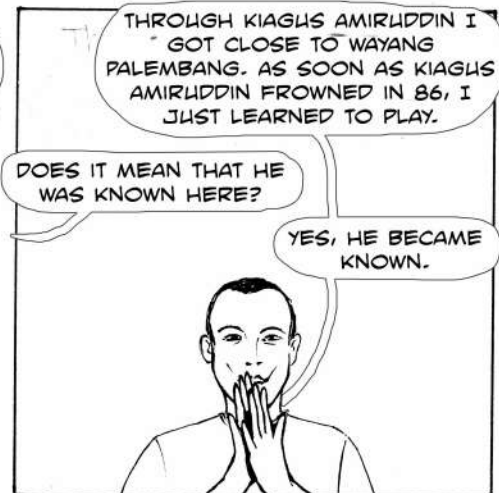


HOW MANY YOUNG
DALANG LIKE YOU DID
FOLLOW KI MANTEB?

MANY, FROM ALL OVER INDONESIA, FROM
KALIMANTAN, SULAWESI, SUMATRA. A LOT OF PEOPLE
NYANTRI WITH PAK MANTEB AND MOST OF THEM ARE
GIVEN MORE LIFE BY PAK MANTEB, FOR EXAMPLE,
BEING BULLIED WITH HIS NAME. THERE IS
MANTEBWIDAYA, MANTEB SOMETHING, MANTEB
SOMETHING ELSE, IT IS USUALLY LIKE THAT.

CAHYO WAS
GIVEN A NAME
TOO?

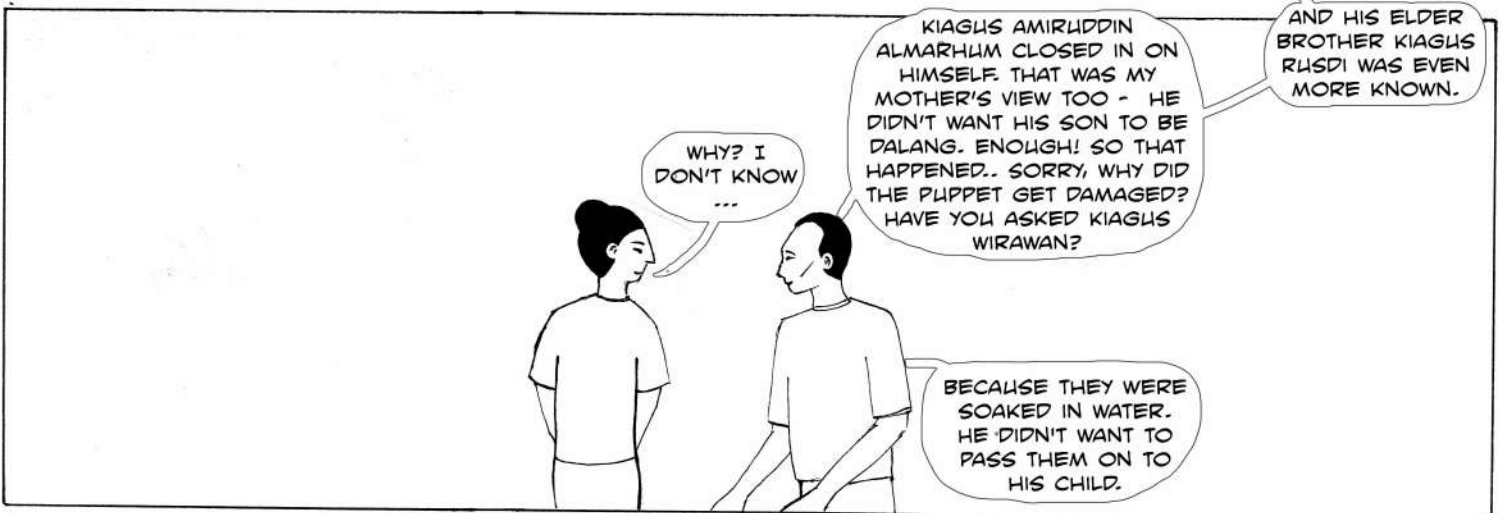
THAT NEVER
HAPPENED. MY
FATHER GAVE ME THE
NAME; I DON'T WANT
TO CHANGE.



THROUGH KIAGUS AMIRUDDIN I
GOT CLOSE TO WAYANG
PALEMBANG. AS SOON AS KIAGUS
AMIRUDDIN FROWNED IN 86, I
JUST LEARNED TO PLAY.

DOES IT MEAN THAT HE
WAS KNOWN HERE?

YES, HE BECAME
KNOWN.



WHY? I
DON'T KNOW
...

KIAGUS AMIRUDDIN
ALMARHUM CLOSED IN ON
HIMSELF. THAT WAS MY
MOTHER'S VIEW TOO - HE
DIDN'T WANT HIS SON TO BE
DALANG. ENOUGH! SO THAT
HAPPENED.. SORRY, WHY DID
THE PUPPET GET DAMAGED?
HAVE YOU ASKED KIAGUS
WIRAWAN?

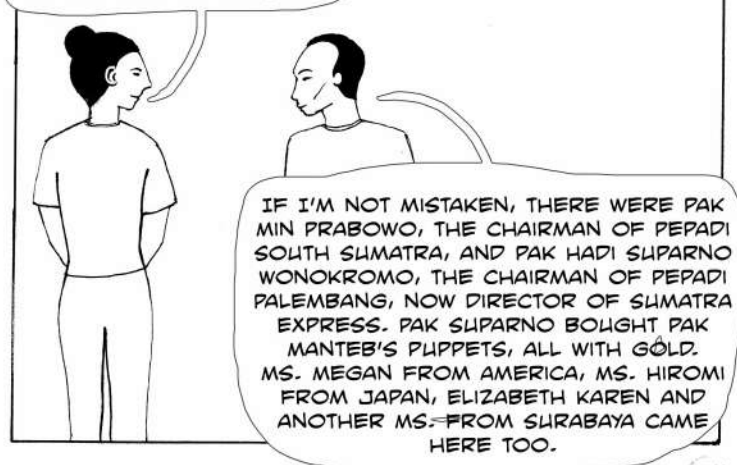
AND HIS ELDER
BROTHER KIAGUS
RUSDI WAS EVEN
MORE KNOWN.

BECAUSE THEY WERE
SOAKED IN WATER.
HE DIDN'T WANT TO
PASS THEM ON TO
HIS CHILD.



HE DOESN'T WANT HIS CHILD TO BECOME A PUPPETEER AS
WELL. THERE MAY ALSO BE ECONOMIC ISSUES, AS WELL AS
THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MORE. THERE WERE MANY
ASPECTS AT THAT TIME, WE CAN'T KNOW. IT IS SOMETHING
PERSONAL OF THE DECEASED KIAGUS AMIRUDDIN HIMSELF.
IT COINCIDED WITH THE FIRE SEASON. MARKET 26, NEXT TO
KIAGUS WIRAWAN'S HOUSE, WAS ONCE BURNED IN THE
1980S. PROBABLY THERE WERE MORE WAYANG PALEMBANG
PUPPETS BEFORE.

WHO CAME TO PALEMBANG
AT THE TIME OF UNESCO?



IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN, THERE WERE PAK
MIN PRABOWO, THE CHAIRMAN OF PEPADI
SOUTH SUMATRA, AND PAK HADI SUPARNO
WONOKROMO, THE CHAIRMAN OF PEPADI
PALEMBANG, NOW DIRECTOR OF SUMATRA
EXPRESS. PAK SUPARNO BOUGHT PAK
MANTEB'S PUPPETS, ALL WITH GOLD.
MS. MEGAN FROM AMERICA, MS. HIROMI
FROM JAPAN, ELIZABETH KAREN AND
ANOTHER MS. FROM SURABAYA CAME
HERE TOO.

ABOUT WAYANG I'M MORE LIKELY TO RUN TO WAYANG SOLO, BECAUSE MY BASIC IS DALANG SABET, DALANG WHOSE STRENGTH IS MOVEMENTS, LIKE PAK MANTEB.

IN SOLO WE CREATED THE DALANG SABET GENERATION, AROUND 30 PEOPLE GOING TO PAK MANTEB, NOT TO PAK ANOM. THEN HIS THOUGHTS WERE WIDER THAN THE OTHER DALANG.



HE CAN COMBINE, AS IBU AJENG DOES TOO, SPIRITUALLY, PEOPLE'S EVERYDAY LIFE AND WAYANG ITSELF.

WERE YOU LEARNING ABOUT SPIRITUALITY WITH HIM AS WELL?

YES, IT IS CALLED LELAKON.



THEN BACK AGAIN, I KNEW IBU AJENG IN SOLO AND I MET HER AGAIN HERE IN PALEMBANG.

HOW DID YOU MEET THE FIRST TIME?

BECAUSE OF THE MANY EVENTS, EVERY YEAR I HELP WITH IT. FINALLY, "JUST STAY HERE, YOU HELP ME".



I LIKE TO READ AURAS.

She reads my aura.

I'LL TAKE CARE OF IT, WAIT A MINUTE.



GILLIA'S MOBILE NUMBER ENDS FOR 4334, GOOD, 4 AND 3 IS 7. THIS HOUSE'S NUMBER IS 7 TOO.

NUMBER 7?

YES 1330, WHEN ADDED IS 7. IBU IS ALSO BORN ON THE 7TH. 7 IN THE JAVANESE CONCEPTION IS A PITULUNGAN, A HELP. VERTICAL LINE.



HAVE YOU FOUND ANY PUBLICATIONS FOR YOUR RESEARCH ABOUT WAYANG PALEMBANG?

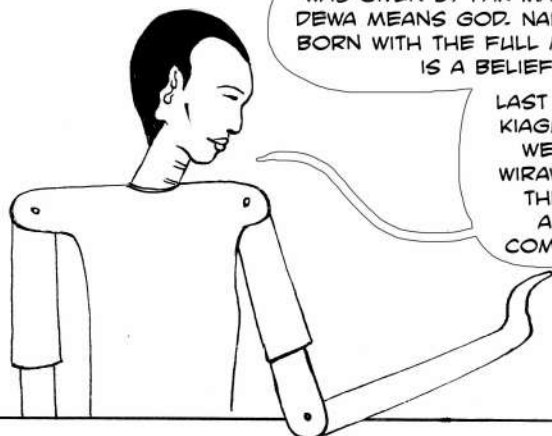
I MOSTLY GO TO PEOPLE, BECAUSE AT THAT TIME THERE WERE PEOPLE STILL INSIDE IT. THE DECEASED PAK DARYONO, LEADER OF WAYANG PALEMBANG TOO, WAS CLOSE TO ME, MY FATHER'S BROTHER. MR. DARYONO DOES NOT HAVE INHERITANCE.

DOES CAHYO HAVE CHILDREN?

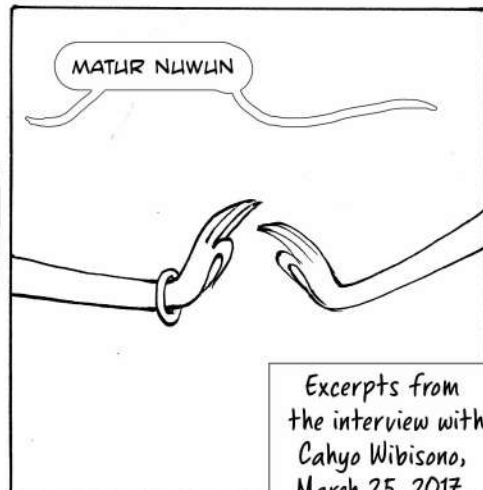


TWO, NARASYA TANTRADEWA AND RAMADIKA SAPTIADDEWA. THE NAME RAMADIKA SAPTIADDEWA WAS GIVEN BY PAK MANTEB. SAPTIA IS LOVING, DEWA MEANS GOD. NARA IS BECAUSE SHE WAS BORN WITH THE FULL MOON PURNAMA. TANTRA IS A BELIEF, A DOCTRINE.

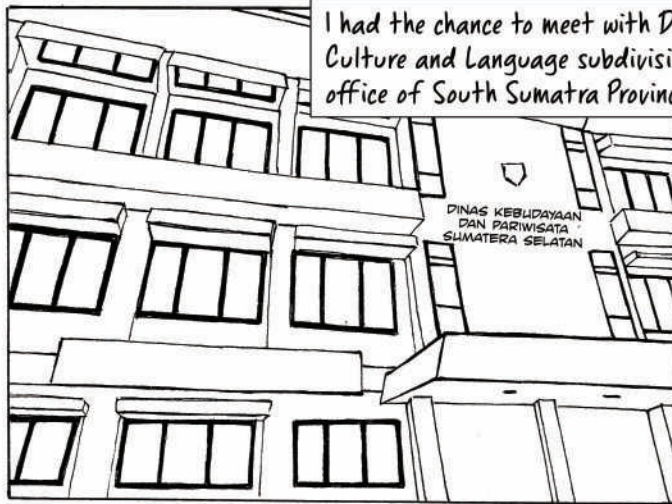
LAST NIGHT I HAD THE IDEA TO TRAIN AT KIAGUS WIRAWAN'S PLACE. MAYBE LATER WE WILL COLLABORATE WITH KIAGUS WIRAWAN, I ONLY DON'T KNOW YET WHAT THE CONCEPT WOULD BE. THERE IS ALSO CRITICISM SOMETIMES FOR COMBINING TWO DIFFERENT CULTURES.



MATUR NUWUN



Excerpts from
the interview with
Cahyo Wibisono,
March 25, 2017.



I had the chance to meet with Dian Permata Suri, the Director of Culture and Language subdivision at the Tourism and Culture office of South Sumatra Province.

HOW MANY LANGUAGES DO YOU HAVE IN SOUTH SUMATRA?

IN SOUTH SUMATRA, MAYBE YOU WON'T BELIEVE IT, WE HAVE 33 LANGUAGES. WE CALL THEM REGIONAL LANGUAGES: OGAN, KOMERING, MUARAENIM... EVERY MONTH WE HAVE TO GO TO THE REGIONS.



WHAT DO YOU DO THERE?

INDONESIA SUMATRA

Language Family

Javanese
Malayic
other Malayo-Polynesian

Unclassified

0 50 100 150 200 km

Notes:
1. White areas are sparsely populated or uninhabited.
2. Parentheses show the number of times a language's number appears on map, if more than once.

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WE HAVE TO ANALYSE AND ACQUIRE THE DATA ABOUT HOW THE LANGUAGES ARE DEVELOPING, WHO THE NATIVE SPEAKERS ARE AND THE BUDAYAWAN, THE BEARER OF THE CULTURE.

I LIKE CULTURE AND LANGUAGE VERY MUCH; THAT'S WHY I ALSO LEARNT ENGLISH AND FRENCH. JE SUIS CONTENTE DE VOUS ENCONTRER.

MOI AUSSI.

YES, I BELIEVE THAT LEARNING LANGUAGE IS THE WINDOW OF THE WORLD. IS IT RIGHT? IF I WANT TO LEARN ABOUT ANY CULTURE, I HAVE TO LEARN THE LANGUAGE FIRST.

I LIKE INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL CULTURE, BOTH. EVERYTHING THAT IS ANCIENT, I LOVE IT VERY MUCH. I STUDIED ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AT SRIWIJAYA UNIVERSITY. HAVE YOU BEEN THERE?

NOT YET, I WOULD LIKE TO VISIT THE LIBRARY TO SEARCH FOR REFERENCES ABOUT WAYANG PALEMBANG, THE REASON FOR COMING HERE.

AS PAK WIRAWAN SUGGESTED I CONTACT THE TOURISM AND CULTURE OFFICE OF SOUTH SUMATRA PROVINCE IN ORDER TO GET THE DOCUMENTATIONS.

YES, THE DATA ABOUT WAYANG PALEMBANG.

WE HAVE THE ORIGINAL SCRIPT FROM SENA WANGI. I HAVE TO COPY IT FOR YOU, MAYBE YOU CAN WAIT A FEW MINUTES.

LINDA, LINDA, COME HERE! IN FRENCH "VENEZ ICI." PLEASE MAKE JUST ONE COPY OF THIS.

WE HAVE TO RESPECT THE GUEST IF YOU WANT TO DRINK SOMETHING, PLEASE.

THANK YOU

ANYWAY, YOUR RESEARCH ABOUT WAYANG PALEMBANG, MAY I KNOW WHAT IT IS FOR?

YES, I'LL EXPLAIN. ACTUALLY WAYANG PALEMBANG IS A PART OF THE RESEARCH. I'M STUDYING CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE. ACCORDING TO UNESCO AND SENA WANGI FILE, WAYANG PALEMBANG IS INCLUDED IN THE FIVE KINDS OF INDONESIAN WAYANG THAT WERE SELECTED IN 2003 AS WORLD HERITAGE. SO MY PURPOSE IS TO SEE WHAT HAPPENED SINCE THE UNESCO RECOGNITION.

YES, YES.

WHAT WE HAVE DONE, I MEAN OFFICIALLY, TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP THE WAYANG?

YES, BUT WHAT WAS NOT DONE TOO. I'M HERE TO MEET AND LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE INVOLVED, AS HAPPENED WITH WIRAWAN AND CAHYO.

WAYANG PALEMBANG IS VERY VERY UNIQUE, ACTUALLY, BECAUSE WAYANG PALEMBANG WAS LISTED DIRECTLY BY UNESCO.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

YOU KNOW, BATIK, KERIS, SAMAN DANCE, THEY WERE LISTED IN THE INDONESIAN INTANGIBLE HERITAGE FIRST, AND AFTER THEY WERE LISTED IN UNESCO. WAYANG PALEMBANG WAS LISTED IN UNESCO DIRECTLY.

WHY?

IN 2003, UNESCO RESEARCHED THE INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN INDONESIA BY ITSELF AND INCLUDED THE 5 CATEGORIES, AS YOU SAID, OF WAYANG BANJAR, WAYANG BALI, WAYANG PALEMBANG, CENTRAL JAWA AND WEST JAWA WAYANG. THEN UNESCO GAVE SUPPORT FOR THE EXPENSE TO DEVELOP WAYANG PALEMBANG. IN 2013 OUR GOVERNMENT BEGAN TO LIST THE INDONESIAN INTANGIBLE HERITAGE, SO BEFORE 2013 THERE IS NO LIST ABOUT INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN INDONESIA. WHY?

BECAUSE OF MALAYSIAN CLAIMS ON INDONESIAN CULTURE. FOR EXAMPLE, PENDET DANCE OR TEMPEH, MALAYSIA CLAIMS TO BE MALAYSIAN CULTURE. IT HAPPENED IN 2012 AND INDONESIA WAS SHOCKED AT THAT TIME, BECAUSE OUR INTANGIBLE CULTURE WOULD BE MOVED TO MALAYSIA. THAT'S WHY SINCE 2013 OFFICIALLY WE BEGAN TO LIST INDONESIAN INTANGIBLE HERITAGE.

SO WAYANG WAS DIRECTLY LISTED TO UNESCO. MAY I ASK WHAT THE PROCESS IS FOR ANY CULTURAL EXPRESSION TO BE SELECTED AND LISTED AS NATIONAL INTANGIBLE HERITAGE? HOW DOES IT WORK?

FOR NATIONAL INTANGIBLE HERITAGE, THE FIRST STEP IS LIKE THIS: THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN JAKARTA GIVE US THE LETTER TO PROPOSE THE INTANGIBLE HERITAGE FROM THE PROVINCE.

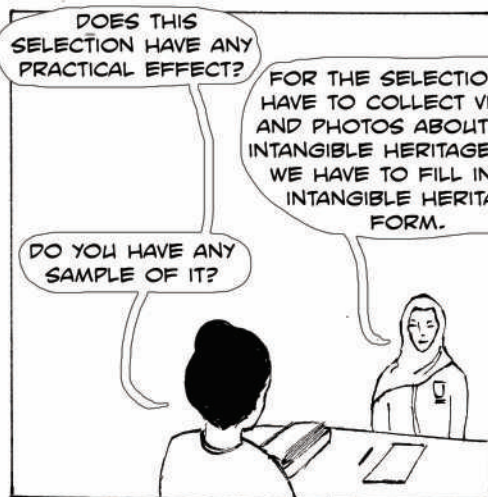
WE PROPOSED 20 EXAMPLES OF HERITAGE FROM HERE FOR THIS YEAR 2017. THESE 20 FROM SOUTH SUMATRA WILL BE DISCUSSED IN JAKARTA AND ANALYSED BY THEM. AFTER THAT THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE TEAM WILL COME TO THIS PROVINCE, WILL COME TO VISIT US TO INVESTIGATE THE FACT OF OUR 20 ITEMS OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE. THEN AFTER THE FINDINGS THEY GOT FROM HERE, THE TEAM FROM THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE OF INDONESIA WILL COME BACK TO JAKARTA AND HAVE AN INTERNAL MEETING IN JAKARTA TO CONCLUDE AND VERIFY WHETHER THE INTANGIBLE HERITAGE EXAMPLES ARE CREDIBLE AND ELIGIBLE TO HAVE THE AWARD. USUALLY IN SEPTEMBER THE AWARD WILL BE GIVEN TO US. USUALLY AMONG THE 20 ITEMS OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE THAT WE PROPOSE, THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE CANNOT GIVE THE PRICE FOR ALL, MAYBE ONLY 8 OR 10. EVERY YEAR, FROM EACH PROVINCE. WE HAVE 37 PROVINCES ALL OVER INDONESIA.

OK. WHAT KIND OF AWARD DO YOU GET, IS IT A CERTIFICATE, FINANCIAL SUPPORT?

FINANCIAL, NO. JUST A CERTIFICATE, VERY BIG CERTIFICATE, FROM HERE TO HERE, YELLOW IN COLOUR.

WHAT IS IT FOR? RECOGNITION?

YES, IT IS A RECOGNITION FOR OUR PROVINCE. IT IS A MATTER OF PRIDE FOR OUR INTANGIBLE HERITAGE TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED NATIONALLY.



WHO ARE THE RESEARCHERS AND WHAT IS THEIR BACKGROUND?

THEY ARE CALLED BUDAYAWAN, THE PEOPLE CONCERNED WITH THE CULTURE.

AND WHAT ARE THE CRITERIA FOR SELECTION?

THE MATERIALS MUST BE COMPLETE: VIDEO, PHOTOS, ACADEMIC RESEARCH AND THE FORM. THE TEAM FROM JAKARTA INVESTIGATES THE COMPLETE ONES ONLY.

HOW DO THEY INVESTIGATE? HOW MANY DAYS DO THEY SPEND?

MAYBE ONE OR TWO DAYS. THEY INTERVIEW THE PEOPLE CONCERNED WITH THE CULTURE IN THE AREA.

LIKE THIS FOR EXAMPLE.

KAJIAN AKADEMIK PERKAWINAN ADAT PALEMBANG

LUAN

adalah masa peralihan yang sangat penting dalam hidup setiap manusia yang dalam ilmu antropologi disebut *stages a long the life cycle* berupa peralihan dari masa bayi, masa kanak-kanak, masa remaja, masa sesudah menikah, masa hamil, masa tua, dan sebagainya (Koentjaraningrat, 1983).

Demikian pula dengan masyarakat Palembang. Peralihan dari tingkat hidup remaja ke tingkat hidup berkeluarga dianggap penting mengingat hal ini berarti peralihan lingkungan sosial ke lingkungan sosial lainnya dan peningkatan peran dan tanggung jawab moral dan sosial baik dalam hidup berkeluarga maupun hidup bermasyarakat.

B. TUJUAN KAJIAN

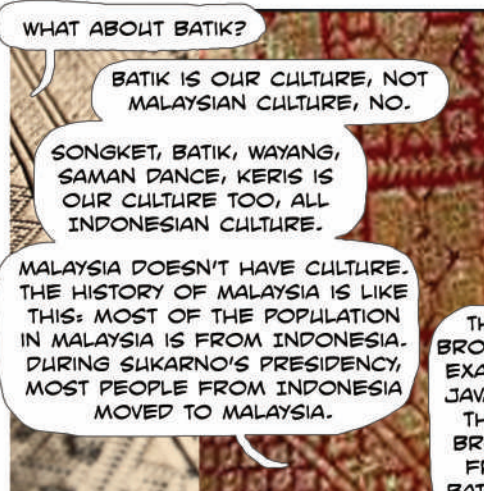
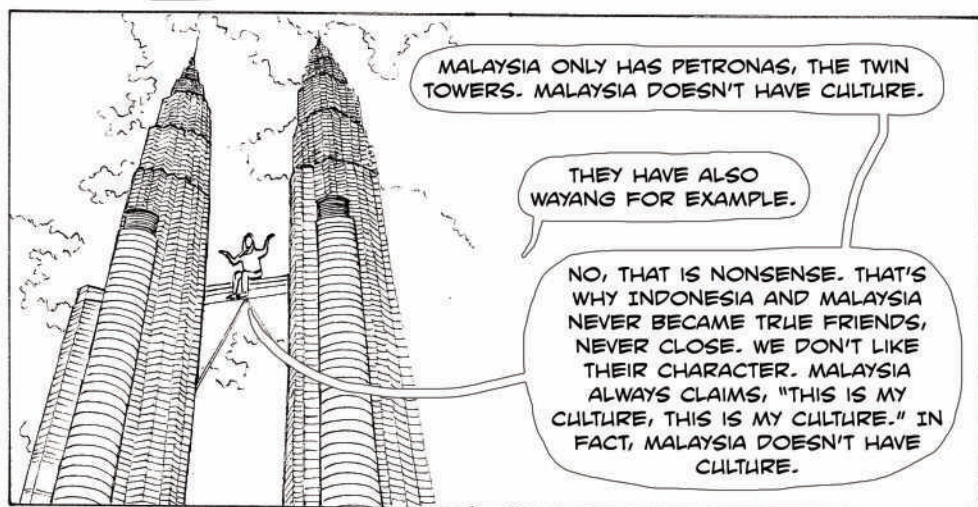
Kajian akademik mengenai Adat Perkawinan Palembang ini bertujuan untuk :

1. Menjelaskan Sejarah dan Sosial Budaya Adat Perkawinan Palembang;
2. Menjelaskan Tahapan Adat Perkawinan Palembang;
3. Menjelaskan Pelestarian Adat Perkawinan Palembang.

B.1. Sejarah dan Sosial Budaya Adat Perkawinan Palembang

Menurut tata cara adat perkawinan masyarakat Palembang dan kebanyakan masyarakat lainnya di Sumatera Selatan, perkawinan tidak hanya berfungsi pengaturan perilaku seks sepasang anak manusia, melainkan juga penyatuan dua keluarga besar, penyesuaian perilaku, penyesuaian adat, dan sebagainya. Dengan demikian perkawinan merupakan suatu peristiwa sosial yang luas, maka bila seseorang sudah menentukan untuk segera meninggalkan masa lajunya maka haruslah pula memenuhi syarat-syarat.

Bagi suku bangsa Palembang, seorang bujang ataupun gadis maupun keluarganya yang berkeinginan untuk melangsungkan perkawinan, haruslah memenuhi syarat-syarat tertentu. Bagi sang bujang dan keluarganya, mereka harus siap dengan mas kawin atau *bride price*. *Bride price* haruslah menurut adat, baik dalam hal jenis





THIS IS THE WORKSHOP OF WAYANG PALEMBANG IN 2013 AND 2014, LOCATED IN TAMAN PURBAKALA SRIWIJAYA PALEMBANG. TAKE A LOOK FIRST.



DO YOU KNOW WHO THE MODERATOR IS?

THE MODERATOR IS MR. HAMIN PRABOWO, THE SECRETARY OF PEPADI. THIS IS MR. SUMARI, HE WORKS IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE, ART DIVISION.



THIS IS ABOUT THE REGENERATION OF WAYANG PALEMBANG, I MEAN HOW TO TRAIN OTHER PUPPETEERS. WE ONLY HAVE ONE PUPPETEER IN PALEMBANG, KIAGUS WIRAWAN. DURING THE WORKSHOP FOUR PEOPLE TRAINED TO BE PUPPETEERS OF WAYANG PALEMBANG. EACH OF THEM HAD ABOUT 20 MINUTES TO PERFORM WHAT THEY LEARNT.



DO YOU USUALLY DO THIS EVENT EVERY YEAR?

NOT YET, MAYBE IN 2018 WE WILL TRY TO MAKE THE PERFORMANCE AGAIN.

WHO IS THIS GUY?

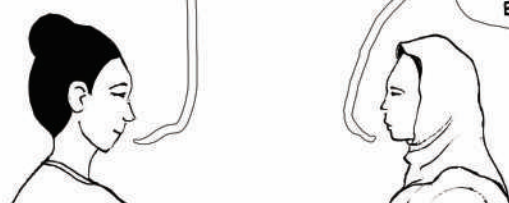
THIS IS THE YOUNGER BROTHER OF MR. WIRAWAN. HE PARTICIPATED IN THE TRAINING.

SOMETIMES I THINK THE FOREIGNERS ARE DIFFERENT FROM ASIAN PEOPLE, I MEAN THE WAY OF THINKING. BEFORE YOU, WE RECEIVED SOME RESEARCHERS FROM EUROPE, NORWAY, POLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY, MOST OF THEM INTERESTED IN CULTURE. I THINK ASIAN PEOPLE ARE INTERESTED IN TOURISM, NOT CULTURE. I THINK FOREIGNERS AND ASIANS ARE REALLY DIFFERENT, IN THEIR WAY OF THINKING.

I DON'T KNOW ACTUALLY.

DO YOU KNOW WHY? DID YOU FIND ANY REASON?

OH YES, IN 2016 BELGIAN PEOPLE CAME HERE TO INVESTIGATE ASIAN STATUES AND BUILDINGS FOR THE EUROPALIA FESTIVAL IN BELGIUM, NOVEMBER 2017. SOUTH SUMATRA HAS ANCIENT BUILDINGS, ANCIENT STATUES, ANCIENT JAR, MANY THINGS, MOSTLY ANCIENT. I ASKED THEM IF THEY ARE TRAVEL AGENTS, BUT NOT, ARCHAEOLOGISTS.



NO RIGHTS NOW WITHOUT THE PAST. YESTERDAY IS HISTORY, TODAY IS STORY, TOMORROW IS A MYSTERY. IT'S A BRITISH WISDOM, RIGHT?

WHAT ABOUT TEACHERS, IS IT AN INTERESTING PROFESSION FOR FOREIGNERS?

IT IS VERY INTERESTING, BUT IF I THINK ABOUT THE ITALIAN SITUATION THE PROFESSION OF TEACHER IS NOT SO MUCH RECOGNIZED AND ENCOURAGED AND THE SALARY IS NOT SO HIGH. FEW TEACHERS HAVE THIS VOCATION.

IT MEANS IT IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM INDONESIA. TEACHING IN INDONESIA IS A FAVOURED PROFESSION.

WHY?

BECAUSE TEACHERS IN INDONESIA HAVE A BIG SALARY. YOU KNOW, I WAS AN ENGLISH TEACHER IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL FOR 7 YEARS FROM 2000. THEN IN 2008 I MOVED TO PALEMBANG AND I BECAME A CIVIL SERVANT IN THE OFFICE.

DID YOU PREFER BEING A TEACHER?

ACTUALLY I LIKE BOTH. WE GET UNIQUE THINGS IN EVERY JOB. FOR EXAMPLE BEING AN ENGLISH TEACHER AT THAT TIME I COULD MEET MANY STUDENTS THAT I LOVED VERY MUCH. AND YOU KNOW I LIKE THE VILLAGE STUDENTS - AT THAT TIME I WAS PLACED IN A VILLAGE. SO MY STUDENTS PAID ME WITH BANANAS FROM THE TREE, THEY PAID ME WITH COCONUTS, NOT IN MONEY SINCE IN MY SPARE TIME I GAVE THEM PRIVATE LESSONS. VILLAGE STUDENTS ARE VERY HONEST. UNTIL NOW I MISS MY VILLAGE. I MET ONE OF THE STUDENTS, HE IS A POLICEMAN IN THE CITY NOW.

WHAT IS THE INDONESIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM LIKE - IS IT WELL ORGANIZED?

VERY WELL, BECAUSE OUR MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE FOCUSES TOTALLY ON IMPROVING OUR EDUCATION, EVERY YEAR. THE BUDGET IS HUGE, THAT IS WHY OUR EDUCATION IS VERY WELL ORGANIZED.

HOW DOES ONE BECOME A TEACHER?

WE JOIN THE FACULTY OF TEACHER TRAINING AND EDUCATION LIKE ME. I GRADUATED FROM THE FACULTY OF TEACHER TRAINING AND EDUCATION OF SRIWIJAYA UNIVERSITY, BUT FOCUSED ON ENGLISH. SO THAT'S WHY I'M AN ENGLISH TEACHER.

DO THE CHILDREN LIKE TO STUDY ENGLISH?

THEY REALLY LIKE TO STUDY ENGLISH. YOU KNOW, MOST OF THE COUNTRIES IN ASIA USE ENGLISH DAILY, IN COMMON CONVERSATION AND SITUATIONS. THAT'S WHY ENGLISH IS VERY POPULAR IN ASIA. ENGLISH PEOPLE MUST BE PROUD OF THEIR LANGUAGE - ASIANS REALLY USE THEIR LANGUAGE.

ALL AROUND THE WORLD.

NOW WE ARE CIVIL SERVANTS IN AN OFFICE AND OUR SALARY IS LOWER THAN TEACHERS'. WHY? BECAUSE IF WE ARE TEACHERS WE JUST TEACH FROM 8 AM UNTIL 12 AM AND THEN WE GO BACK HOME, BUT IF WE ARE CIVIL SERVANTS IN OFFICE LIKE NOW, WE WORK HERE FROM 8 AM UNTIL 5 PM SO WE GO BACK HOME IN THE AFTERNOON, WE COME HERE IN THE MORNING AND OUR SALARY IS LOWER THAN TEACHERS. BUT THERE ARE THINGS THAT TEACHERS CANNOT DO. FOR EXAMPLE WORKING IN AN OFFICE LIKE THIS YOU CAN GO ABROAD, I WENT TO EGYPT BECAUSE OF MY JOB. THAT'S THE DIFFERENCE WITH BEING A TEACHER. I WENT TO MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE, THAILAND BECAUSE OF MY JOB. WHEN I WAS A TEACHER I DIDN'T GO ANYWHERE, JUST IN THE VILLAGE OR IN THE CITY, BUT I LOVED MY STUDENTS VERY MUCH, BECAUSE THEY LOVED ME, THEY RESPECTED ME. ALTHOUGH THEY ARE SUCCESSFUL PEOPLE, IF THEY MEET ME THEY REMEMBER ME. IT IS SATISFYING.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME.

AS TOURISM AND CULTURE OFFICE MY DUTY IS HOSPITALITY TO THE GUESTS. HAVE YOU EATEN PEMPEK?

IN WIRAWAN'S HOUSE THE FIRST TIME.

LET'S HAVE LUNCH TOGETHER.

Excerpts from the interview with Dian Permata Suri. March 27, 2017

Wayang kulit Banjar

Similarly to wayang kulit Palembang in Sumatra, wayang kulit Banjar in South Kalimantan is also considered endangered by Sena Wangi's Candidature File (2002) for UNESCO's masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity programme. With the same purpose of understanding the reasons for being considered in danger, I carried out some personally meetings with practitioners and/or representatives, I contacted Pepadi South Kalimantan in order to spend a week in Banjarmasin and its surroundings.

Pak Yani, the chairman of Pepadi South Kalimantan, and pak Aidil of the Indonesian Workers Union (Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia SPSI) and a gamelan player too, accompanied me to several places: to the Museum Lambung Mangkurat in Banjar Baru; to meet pak Mujiyat, a dalang from Yogyakarta; to Taman Budaya, the centre of cultural development in Banjarmasin; and to meet dalang Unan at his house/sanggar Selengsukma. Moreover, pak Yani and his family drove me to the Hulu Sungai Tengah region, 155 km from Banjarmasin, where I met dalang Diman and his family at sanggar Asam Berembun. He also accompanied me to Barikin to meet Lupi Anderiani, a local musician, with dalang Tulus's daughter; dalang Upik at sanggar anak Pandawa; dalang Rahmadi at sanggar Taruna Jaya; and dalang Sastra at sanggar Budi Mulya. The presence of an institutional representative closely associated with local government has influenced the type of information provided, conferring more formality to the interviews and shaping the responses as well as the arguments. It undoubtedly makes a difference to be introduced or not by an official representative.

The descriptions of wayang kulit Banjar seem in certain ways affected by an "endangerment" view. The smaller size and the simpler decorations of wayang kulit Banjar puppets as well the use of belincong, or oil lamp, for breathing shadows during the performance, accompanied by the gamelan music in slendro scale are highlighted as its distinctive features in relation to other wayang styles. Moreover the dalang, who also covers the role of pesinden, or singer, can interrupt and have a rest in the middle of the performance for which he creates new stories, in Banjar called *carangan*, based on the stories of Mahabharata and Ramayana. These wayang kulit Banjar's characteristics are valued as unique and original, on the basis of the

identity and of the urgency of reinvigorating it; thus the attention paid and the care about the practices of wayang kulit Banjar, perceived as threatened. Values and practices are indeed closely linked. This official narrative about wayang kulit Banjar seems to lever on heritage rhetoric, dear to local and international organizations, and to academic contexts as well. At the same time, however, the practitioners interviewed have shown various attitudes toward wayang kulit Banjar practices and the possibility of assistance or support from institutions. Some sanggar/family are self-sufficient to the extent that they do construct manually their tools, for example.

Among the sanggar visited, I didn't find the one or ones that received support by UNESCO. Differently from wayang kulit Palembang which can be identified with Kiagus Wirawan Rusdi and sanggar Sri Palembang, in South Kalimantan, especially but not exclusively in Barikin, there are various sanggar concerned with wayang kulit Banjar. Each has its own story and background, mostly rotating around a dalang family. In the interviews, a kind of founding father stands out from the stories; the further back one goes in time, the more legendary the tone taken, from which the ancestry branches are traced gradually or with large leaps. In Chapter VI it was already demonstrated how genealogy and above all the ability to go back to several generations of dalang in the family, the greater is the prestige. I found the same pattern in the case of wayang kulit Banjar.

In the case of wayang kulit Banjar, differently from wayang kulit Palembang, there is a large community of artists, musicians, dancers and puppeteers originating from Barikin and belonging to the same extended family. This extensive community or extended family is also based on acquired ties, for example for having *nyantri* (followed) a senior puppeteer. Another important aspect is the fact of the self-taught learning modality in the wake of an older puppeteer who is the guide and witness in Banjar ritual bath or *badudus* to become dalang. Sacredness is said to invest wayang performance, especially for wayang *sampir*, the ritual of expelling disturbing spirits, and wayang *batatamba*, for healing, rather than *karasmin*, for the crowd.¹ That same inviolability, however, seems to restrain innovations. Since according to some of my interlocutors, the performance responds to the people's

¹ See Mohamad Idwar Saleh's tripartite delineation of dalang, thus wayang performance, in South Kalimantan (Saleh 1984: 16).

expectations and reactions, and those of the committee as well, there are no place for innovation. With the shift of time, however, younger generations seem appreciating new modes of entertainment, as they are more accessible and affordable. There are not many children willing to learn the art of puppetry and currently the trainings at the sanggar only occur when there are pupils. These trainings do not occur daily or weekly likewise in Java.

Meanwhile, similarly to wayang kulit Palembang, wayang kulit was brought from Java to Banjar. In the fourteenth century the area of south Kalimantan was vassal to the large Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of the Majapahit thalassocracy. According to Novyandi Saputra it was at this time that

“Empu Jatmika (or Ampu Jatmaka) and other Majapahit noblemen founded the kingdom of Nagara Dipa (this area is now in Amuntai, Hulu Sungai Utara, South Kalimantan) and Majapahit culture arrived with all kinds of arts, one of them wayang kulit. Wayang kulit was introduced with a set of gamelan and a mask; the person who brought it was Raden Sekar Sungsang. Wayang kulit at that time in addition to Hindu religious rituals was a political media in order to influence Banjar people to embrace Hinduism and Majapahit culture” (Saputra 2015: 2-3, my translation from Indonesian).

The history of the kings of Banjar is contained in the seventeenth-century Banjar court chronicle *Hikayat Banjar*, edited by the Dutch philologist Johannes Jacobus Hans Ras (1968). This chronicle mentioned Raden Sekar Sungsang sailing to Java, where he married a Javanese princess and learned Javanese art forms, before returning to Banjar with his wife, bringing back artistic skills and more artistic equipment (Ras 1968: 40 in Kartomi 2002: 22-23).

In the sixteenth century, South Kalimantan was converted to Islam under the influence of the north coastal Javanese kingdom of Demak. In 1526 Bandar Masih, the capital city of the Islamic Banjar Kingdom, was founded by the Prince Samudera (Saleh 1981).

“In the sixteenth century the army of Demak returned to Banjar with its Islamic religion and Central Java coastal culture. Wayang Gadogan, which originates from the story of Panji, joins in. In the seventeenth century, in addition to the large flow of Javanese escape, also due to political relations between the Banjar kingdom and Mataram in the Amangkurat II era, Javanese culture entered more broadly into Banjar kraton” (Saleh 1984: 3, my translation from Indonesian).

Nowadays, wayang kulit Banjar is also called wayang Tulus, according to the name of the dalang who popularized it in South Kalimantan. Raden Arya Tulus, born in 1880 in Barikin – the place I have been with pak Yani and his family –, followed the family line of dalang. His father, named dalang Kitut, was quite well known in Barikin. Tulus however was able to gather together a large number of people, and remain active as a dalang until the late 1970s. He was a dalang karasmin, for the crowd, while for example his elder brother Tuganal was a dalang sampir, for the rituals of cleansing and healing.

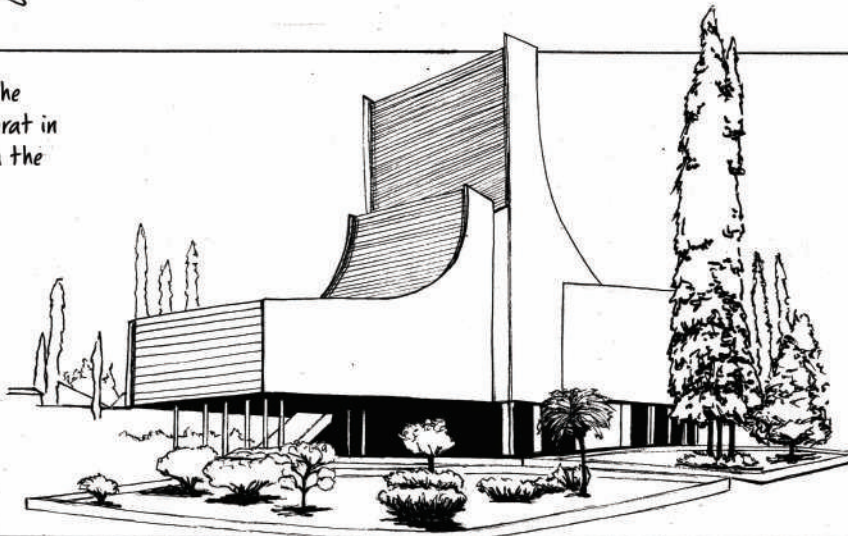
I left Kalimantan after having seen a short demonstration of wayang kulit Banjar performance at sanggar Asam Berimbun and some video recordings on DVD and YouTube. My stay lasted a week, which was indeed insufficient time to have the chance to see a wayang kulit Banjar performance that does not occur weekly, and in the pre-fasting period of Ramadan in which the performances are reduced, according to what the puppeteers told me. Anyway my visit to South Kalimantan was fruitful for having had the chance to meet and talk with some of the people involved in the practices of wayang kulit Banjar, dalang and representatives. The comics that follow provide the atmosphere, the sub-text and the subtleties of the interviews that could not be conveyed by means of textual transcriptions.



On April 21, 2017 I took a flight from Yogyakarta to Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan.

Before leaving for Banjarmasin, I made contact with Pepadi South Kalimantan. The chairman pak Yani came to pick me up at the airport, together with pak Aidil.

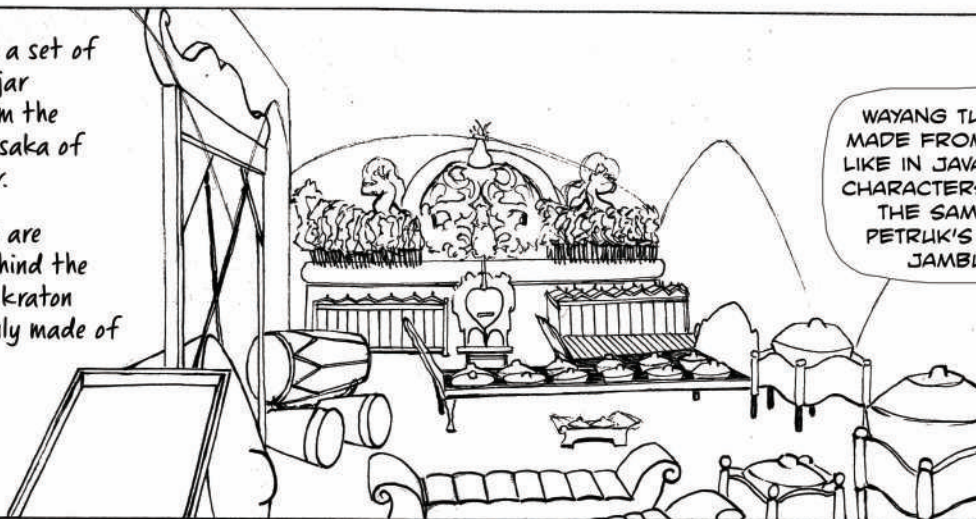
They took me directly to the Museum Lambung Mangkurat in Banjar Baru, not far from the airport.



The museum was inaugurated in 1979 and houses an important collection of Banjarese and Dayak artifacts (Sellato 2015: 133),

among them a set of wayang Banjar puppets from the 1970s as pusaka of dalang Tulus.

The puppets are exhibited behind the gamelan of kraton Banjar, mainly made of bronze.



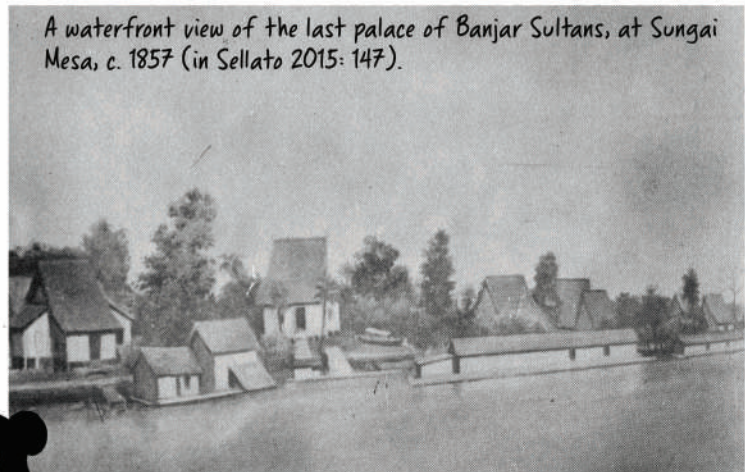
WAYANG TULUR ARE MADE FROM LEATHER LIKE IN JAVA, AND THE CHARACTERS TOO ARE THE SAME, ONLY PETRUK'S NAME IS JAMBULITA.

WHY?

WELL ACTUALLY WAYANG KULIT WAS BROUGHT FROM JAVA.

"The last kraton of the Banjarese kings (illustrated in Schwaner 1853-54) maintained a rich array of Hindu-Buddhist-Javanese artistic cultural forms adapted in a unique way. However, of the former Banjarese court holdings, only a few pusaka (heirlooms) including a whole gamelan, wayang set, masks, weapons and costumes remain today. As the palace was instrumental in resisting Dutch colonial rule, the Dutch destroyed it in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Then, in 1908, the Dutch took the Banjar area by force, instituting a period of repressiveness which grew so intense that many Banjarese migrated in the 1920s and 1930s to the Samarinda area in East Kalimantan. There they found the environment easier to bear; and the Banjarese wayang kulit and other arts that they took with them thrived" (Kartomi 2002: 24).

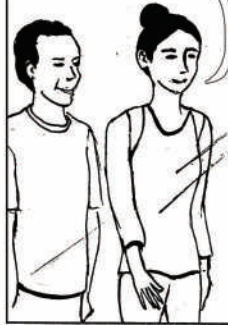
A waterfront view of the last palace of Banjar Sultans, at Sungai Mesa, c. 1857 (in Sellato 2015: 147).



WAYANG BANJAR ARE SMALLER IN SIZE AND SIMPLER IN DECORATION COMPARED TO JAVANESE PUPPETS.



WHY IS THE SIZE OF WAYANG BANJAR SMALLER?



THE WAYANG TROOP'S DISPLACEMENT WAS IN HUMBLE CONDITIONS, BY BOAT PERAHU COKO ON THE RIVERS. THERE WAS NO WAY THROUGH THE LAND LIKE NOW.



TO MAKE IT EVEN MORE COMPACT, TWO MUSICIANS PLAYED ONE SARON, SITTING ON EACH SIDE.



THE JOURNEY TO THE PLACE OF PERFORMANCE WAS LONG AND THE BOAT WAS SMALL, THUS THE PUPPETS WERE SHORTENED AND THE GAMELAN INSTRUMENTS SET REDUCED, IN ORDER TO MAKE IT EASIER TO CARRY THE EQUIPMENT.

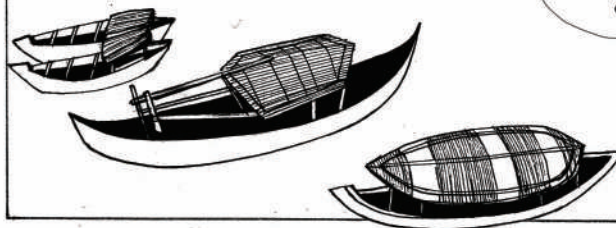
Kalimantan had trading polities forming a circular chain of relations of subordinates and overlords all around the island's coastline and along river axes between the coast and the far hinterland (Sellato 2015: 127)



IN JAVA AT THAT TIME THEY USED THE GEROBAK CARTS PULLED BY COWS, THEN SIZE DIDN'T MATTER.



BANJAR PEOPLE WERE MOSTLY FLUVIAL MERCHANTS AND USED A DIFFERENT KIND OF BOAT ACCORDING TO THE MERCHANDISE. A MERCHANT BOAT FROM THIS AREA MIGHT SELL WOOD, PUMPKIN, RICE AND COCONUT; FROM CENTRAL KALIMANTAN RATTAN AND FOREST PRODUCTS.



WHAT ELSE MADE WAYANG BANJAR DIFFERENT?

WAYANG BANJAR IS SEEN FROM THE SHADOWS, WHICH LIKE BREATHING, UP AND DOWN, ARE MADE BY AN OIL LAMP NAMED BELINCONG. AND HERE AROUND MIDNIGHT THE ARTISTS TAKE A REST OF ABOUT HALF AN HOUR.

FOR EXAMPLE BAGONG SAYS:



I'M ALREADY TIRED, LET'S TAKE A REST FIRST.

THEN THEY COME DOWN TO EAT FIRST. THAT'S THE DIFFERENCE, IF IN JAVA IT IS UNTIL THE END, NON-STOP.

DO YOU HAVE GORO-GORO TOO?

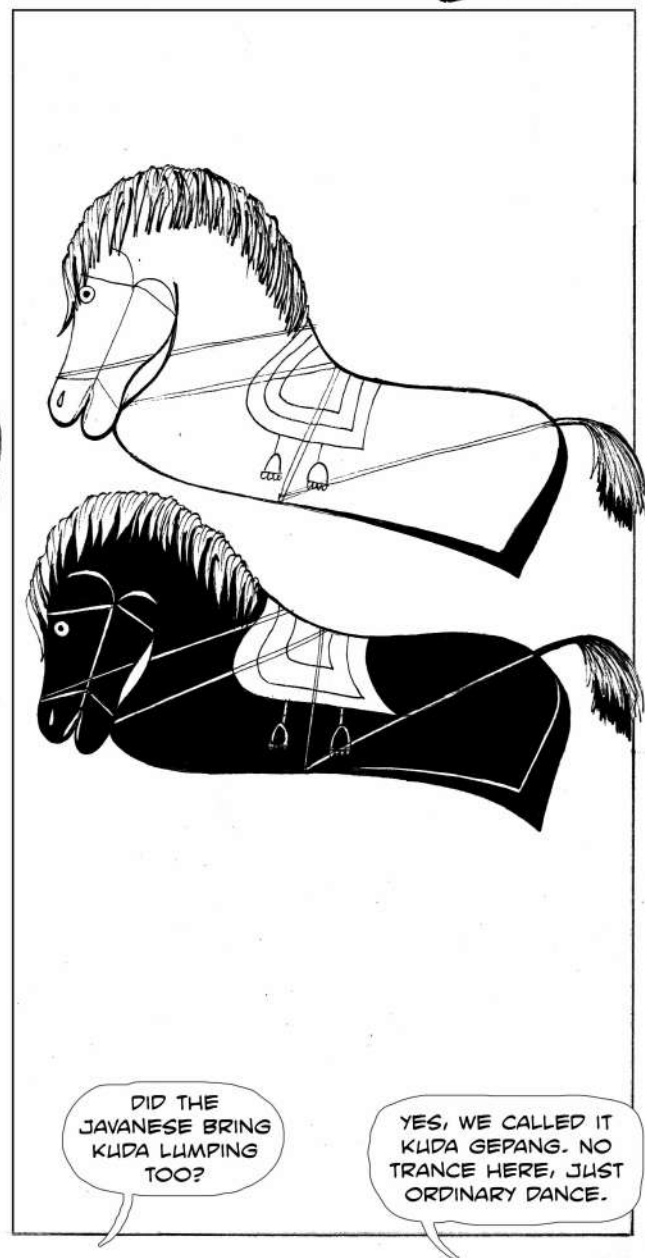
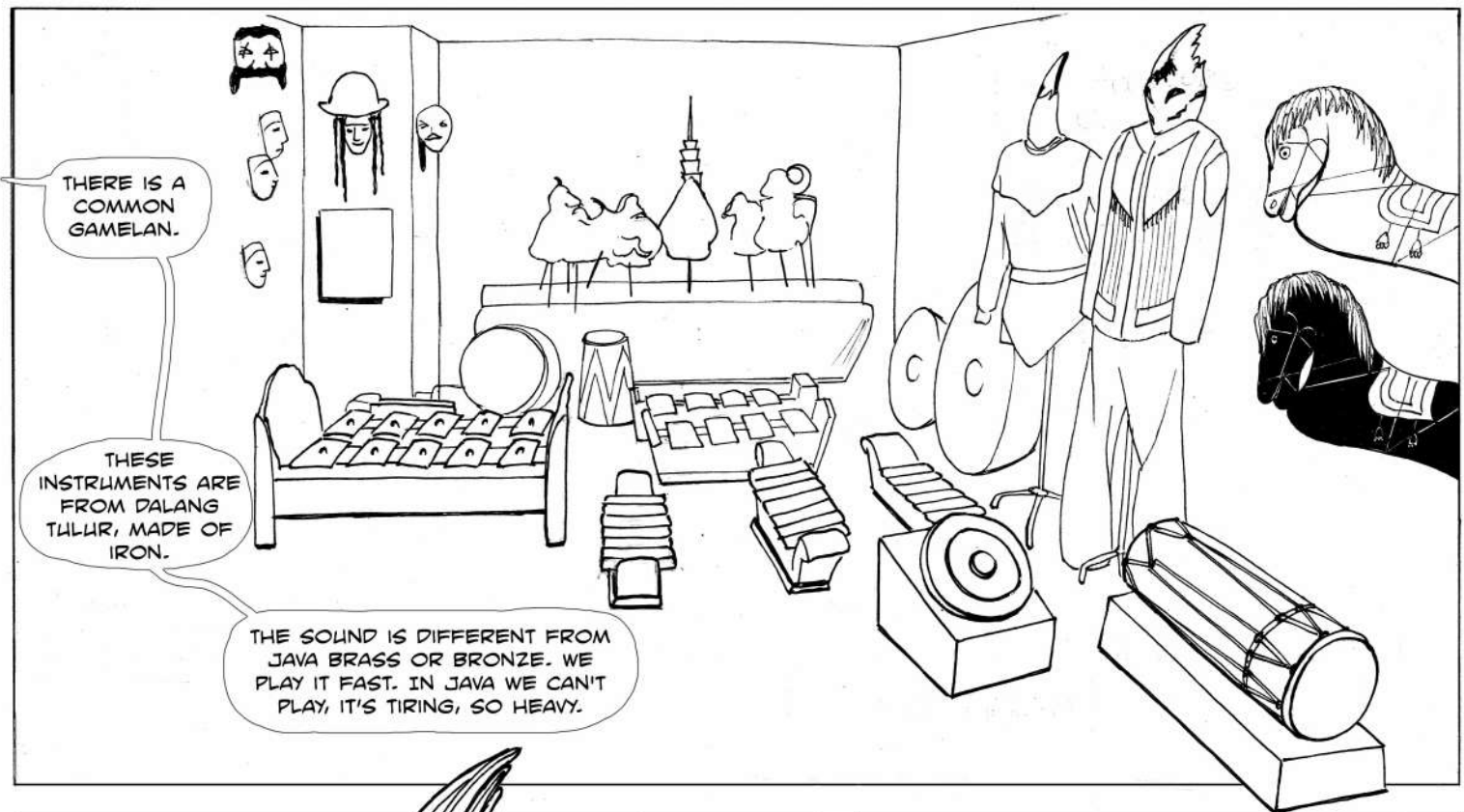


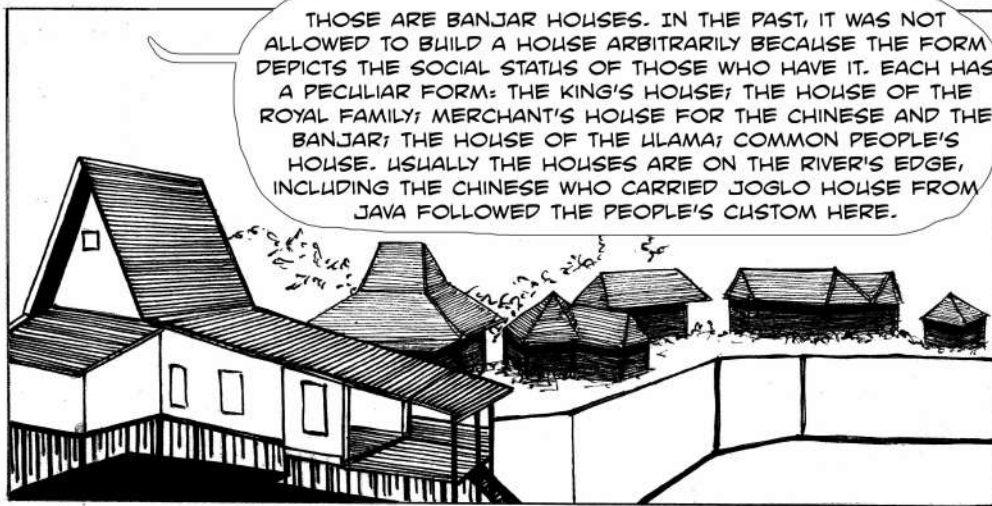
YES, IT'S THE SAME. BUT THERE IS NO PESINDEN IN WAYANG BANJAR. THE DALANG IS THE ONLY ONE SINGING.



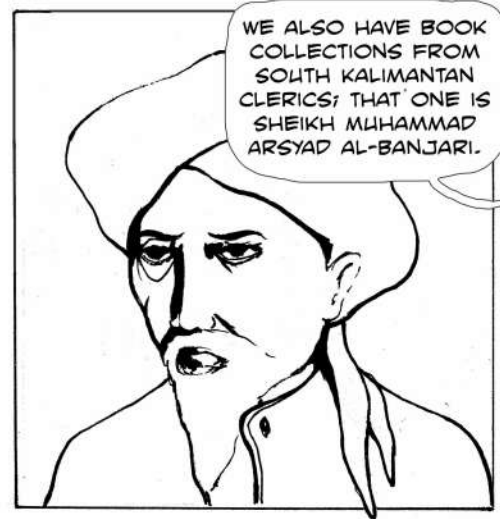
We moved upstairs to the second floor.







THOSE ARE BANJAR HOUSES. IN THE PAST, IT WAS NOT ALLOWED TO BUILD A HOUSE ARBITRARILY BECAUSE THE FORM DEPICTS THE SOCIAL STATUS OF THOSE WHO HAVE IT. EACH HAS A PECULIAR FORM: THE KING'S HOUSE; THE HOUSE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY; MERCHANT'S HOUSE FOR THE CHINESE AND THE BANJAR; THE HOUSE OF THE ULAMA; COMMON PEOPLE'S HOUSE. USUALLY THE HOUSES ARE ON THE RIVER'S EDGE, INCLUDING THE CHINESE WHO CARRIED JOGLO HOUSE FROM JAVA FOLLOWED THE PEOPLE'S CUSTOM HERE.



WE ALSO HAVE BOOK COLLECTIONS FROM SOUTH KALIMANTAN CLERICS; THAT ONE IS SHEIKH MUHAMMAD ARSYAD AL-BANJARI.

Sheikh is for a teacher or great cleric. Born in 1710, he died in 1812, 102 years old. He studied Islam in the city of Mecca for 30 years and when he returned to Batavia at that time some of the mosques' directions qibla in Jakarta were not fixed, so he corrected it.



THIS BOOK HANDWRITTEN BY HIM HAS BEEN COPIED IN MECCA, TURKEY AND EGYPT.

WHICH ISLAM?

ALL ISLAM, THERE IS NOT ONE THAT IS TYPICAL OF INDONESIA. HE WAS BORN NOT FAR FROM HERE, ABOUT 12 KM.

IN THE INTERIOR OF KALIMANTAN LIVE DAYAK PEOPLE. DAYAK TRADITION IS A BIT DIFFERENT FROM OTHER CULTURES. THIS IS AN AMABANG. THERE ARE STILL ANIMISM BELIEFS, GODS TOO, BUT KAHARINGAN IS NOT ON THE INDONESIAN IDENTITY CARD.

After visiting the museum, we met with Ahmadi Sofian alias Enos Karli, the museum director. He curated a publication about wayang Banjar and as Enos Karli he composed the song Pamali, for example.

Excerpts from the recording of the visit to the Museum Lambung Mangkurat in Banjar Baru, April 21, 2017.



Leaving the Museum to reach the school of their friend pak Mujiyat, I get to know my guides better.

DID YOU UNDERSTAND SPEAKING BANJAR?

IT IS VERY FAST.



I LOVE WAYANG.

ARE YOU A DALANG TOO?

NO, I'M NOT



HE IS A BUREAUCRAT. ACTUALLY HE WORKED AT THE TAMAN BUDAYA, THE ARTISTS' HOUSE IN BANJARMASIN.

WHAT IS YOUR DAILY LIFE LIKE?

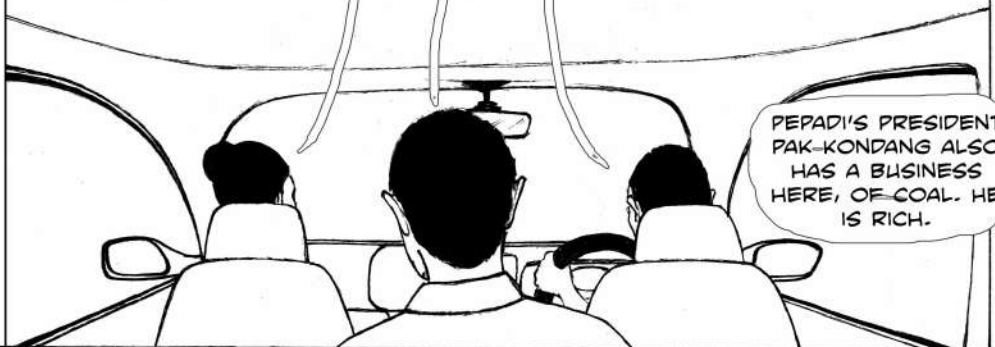
IS THERE A WAYANG DEPARTMENT?

THE MAN BEHIND IS THE HEAD TEACHER OF SPST SERIKAT PEKERJA SELURUH INDONESIA (INDONESIAN WORKERS UNION).

SOMETIMES I GIVE LECTURES ON CULTURE, TWO SUBJECTS ACTUALLY, AT THE HIGH SCHOOL FOR EDUCATION.

ONLY DANCE AND GAMELAN MUSIC.

PEPADI'S PRESIDENT PAK-KONDANG ALSO HAS A BUSINESS HERE, OF COAL. HE IS RICH.



Pak Yani spent about five months in Yogyakarta when he was a student.

BANJARMASIN HAS FIVE REGIONS LIKE YOGYAKARTA AND THE SIZE IS SIMILAR TOO, BUT IN YOGYAKARTA IT IS MORE CROWDED. HERE THE POPULATION IS AROUND SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND.

WHAT ABOUT TOURISM?

THE TOURIST ATTRACTIONS ARE THE FLOATING MARKET ON MARTAPURA RIVER AND THE AREA OF GOLD AND DIAMOND SHOPS, 5 KM FROM THE MUSEUM.

LATER THERE WILL BE BOOKS IN TAMAN BUDAYA.

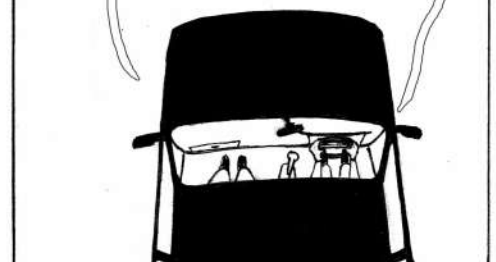


SOUTH KALIMANTAN IS A KIND OF MINI INDONESIA, WITH MANY ETHNIC GROUPS HERE.



WHAT ABOUT THE HISTORY OF WAYANG BANJAR?

IT WAS BROUGHT FROM MAJAPAHIT. LATER THE BOOKS WILL BE AVAILABLE.



In the meantime we arrived at the school of pak Mujiyat and we reported our arrival to the security.

Pak Mujiyat studied pedalangan at SMKI, the high school of arts in Kasihan Bantul and at the university of ISI Yogyakarta. Twenty-five years ago he left Yogyakarta and moved directly to Banjarmasin.

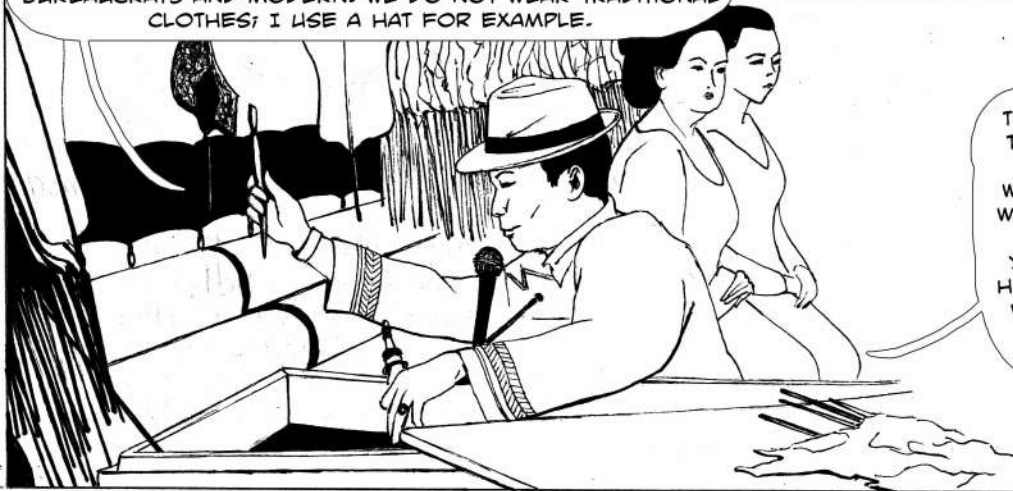


I'M NOT FROM DALANG DESCENDANTS. ALREADY AT THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AT THE AGE OF NINE I WENT TO SEE WAYANG SHOWS EVERYWHERE. I USED TO LEAVE AT SEVEN IN THE EVENING AND COME BACK HOME AT SIX IN THE MORNING, WHEN I WAS A KID.



I'M NOT EVEN A SCHOLAR. THERE WAS A POSSIBILITY OF CHOICE BETWEEN BEING AN ARTIST OR A BUREAUCRAT. I CHOSE BUREAUCRAT, THEN THE PROFESSION OF ARTIST HAS BEEN LACKING. LAST TIME I PLAYED WAS ON 2016 NEW YEAR EVE IN TAMAN BUDAYA BANJARMASIN.

HERE THERE IS A COMMUNITY OF JAVANESE DALANG, BUREAUCRATS AND MODERN. WE DO NOT WEAR TRADITIONAL CLOTHES; I USE A HAT FOR EXAMPLE.



THE MAJORITY COMES FROM SOLO, THEY MAINLY HAVE BUSINESS HERE, SO WAYANG IS SURAKARTA STYLE. WHEN I PLAYED WITH MY STYLE THEY WERE LESS INTERESTED. NOW THERE IS A NEW WHATSAPP GROUP OF YOGYAKARTA BUREAUCRATS LIVING HERE. ANYWAY I DON'T WANT TO PLAY WAYANG HERE BECAUSE I REALIZE THAT I HAVE TO STRENGTHEN THE BANJAR CULTURE.

Before becoming director of high school, he worked at Taman Budaya and carried on a research on wayang Banjar.

JUST ASK, HE PROBABLY GAVE YOU THE BOOK.



The books: could they replace direct encounters with oral sources? Or is it that researchers search for bibliographical references too often?

I WAS WORKING AT TAMAN BUDAYA IN 1998-99 AND I RESEARCHED WAYANG BANJAR BECAUSE OF MY OWN WISHES. SOMETIMES THERE WASN'T ANY WORK TO DO, SO I DID RESEARCH. I WANTED TO KNOW WHAT WAYANG BANJAR IS LIKE AND THE FIRST TIME I PAID A DALANG TO PLAY BECAUSE I NEVER SAW IT. THEY USE SLENDRO SCALE. THAT IS WHAT I THINK IS POWERFUL; IT'S ORIGINALITY. BUT HERE I DON'T WANT TO DAMAGE ONE IDENTITY. I PERSONALLY FELT THE BANJAR GAMELAN TASTE IS DIFFERENT; IT WAS HIT WITH A FAST RHYTHM.





WHAT HAPPENS IF IT CHANGES?

IF IT CHANGES, THE TASTE IS GONE. IT IS THE SAME WITH THIS COFFEE, IF YOU POUR MORE WATER IT IS A LITTLE LESS FLAVOURFUL. BUT IF IT'S RIGHT, THE COFFEE IS TASTY. THIS IS THE IDEA.

HOW DOES WAYANG BANJAR DEVELOP HERE?

WHEN I RESEARCHED IT I FOUND THAT ACTUALLY, IF I SEE IT FROM THE SHAPE, WAYANG BANJAR IS THE SAME AS THE YOGYAKARTA STYLE.

IT IS SAID THAT WAYANG BANJAR DATES BACK TO THE 14TH CENTURY AT THE TIME THE MAJAPAHIT KINGDOM CONTROLLED PARTS OF KALIMANTAN AND SPREAD HINDU INFLUENCE BY WAYANG KULIT SHOWS.

A PUPPETEER NAMED RADEN SAKAR SINGSANG CAME FROM JAVA EVEN WITH PENGRAWIT [GAMELAN MUSICIAN], BUT THE BANJAR PEOPLE COULD NOT ENJOY IT, DUE TO THE DIFFICULTY FOR LOCAL PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND JAVANESE REPERTOIRE AND LANGUAGE.



WHEN I FIRST ARRIVED I SAW WAYANG BANJAR PUPPETS IN THE MUSEUM, THE SAME AS GIULIA DID.

WE COME BACK TO THE ISSUE OF TIME.

WHEN I WAS AT SCHOOL I COULD NOT PLAY WAYANG. AT FIRST ONE IS JUST INTRODUCED TO GAMELAN. JUST AFTER HAVING LEARNED WAYANG'S MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT WE PRACTISED HOW TO MOVE THE PUPPETS AND HOW TO BETTER PLAY THE GAMELAN.

PLAY GAMELAN FIRST, THEN JUST WHEN YOU ARE ALREADY FAMILIAR WITH IT, YOU CAN HOLD WAYANG.

FOR HOLDING PUPPETS, AT SCHOOL THE RULES ARE PROVIDED: THE PRINCE MOVES LIKE THIS, THE GIANT GOES LIKE THAT, THE MONKEY RUNS THIS WAY, THE KING, RULES EXIST FOR EVERYTHING.

HERE, MAYBE SPONTANEOUSLY, THEY JUST SAW AND IMITATED, LESSONS WERE NOT GIVEN.

THE IMPORTANT THING IS THE BATTLE. EVEN THE BATTLE HAS PHASES. IN JAVA, THE FIRST PHASE OF THE BATTLE IS DIALOGUE, AN EMOTIONAL BATTLE; WHEN THEY HIT EACH OTHER THERE ARE ALSO RULES, THE CHARACTER THAT IS NOT BALANCED AND COMPLETE WILL DIE.

HERE A SHOW IS IMAGINED BY HEART, IT DOESN'T MATTER FOR ME. EACH ART IS ABOUT WHO PLAYS; IN ART THE TERM "WRONG" DOESN'T EXIST.

HOWEVER PAKEM* IS THERE. I'LL GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE NOW. YOU ENTERED MY OFFICE AND REPORTED TO SECURITY. THAT IS THE RULE. BUT WHEN THERE IS NO SECURITY, YOU CERTAINLY WANT TO ACCESS, SO OPEN IT YOURSELF.

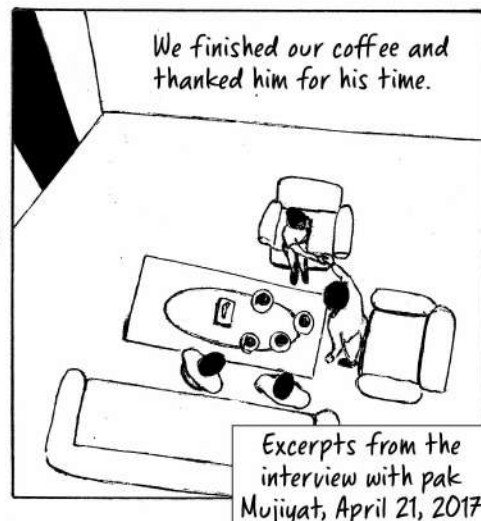
* rule, the standard model

IN PREVIOUS TIMES, WAYANG BANJAR WAS LEFT BEHIND. HOWEVER, ITS VALUE CAN BE HIGH, DEPENDING ON THE NAME CONSTRUCTED. SO IF WE CAN MAINTAIN THE ORIGINALITY, IT WILL BE HIGH BECAUSE PEOPLE THAT WATCH IT CAN IMAGINE THE DAYS PAST.

EVERYTHING CHANGED, BUT HERE NOT YET. THE MEANING IS NOT "REJECTING CHANGE" BUT HOW TO MAINTAIN ORIGINAL VALUES.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ART MUST HAVE PRIVATE OR GOVERNMENTAL PROMOTER; IF NOT IT IS HEAVY. ALL IS THROUGH MONEY. PEOPLE COME FROM AFAR, HOW IF THERE IS NO DRINK? HOW IF THERE IS NO TRANSPORT?

EDUCATION, ADMINISTRATION, ENVIRONMENT.



We finished our coffee and thanked him for his time.

Excerpts from the interview with pak Mujiyat, April 21, 2017

Soon after, we reached Taman Budaya in Banjarmasin, in whose artists' dormitories I was kindly invited to stay for a full week. Once I had left my bag,



WAYANG BANJAR IS PART OF INDONESIAN WAYANG. IN 2016 IT WAS DESIGNATED INDONESIAN INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN. AN EVENT WITH PERFORMANCES AND CULTURAL PRACTITIONERS WAS HELD BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN JAKARTA.



ALTHOUGH WAYANG BANJAR BECAME INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF HUMANITY IN 2003, IT ONLY BECAME INDONESIAN INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN 2016, RIGHT?

INDEED IT WAS IN LATE,

BECAUSE THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE AND THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH KALIMANTAN HAD NOT MADE THE PROPOSAL YET.

AT THAT TIME THE PEOPLE IN SERVICE WERE NOT THINKING ABOUT GOING AHEAD. ALTHOUGH LATE, WAYANG BANJAR WAS APPOINTED BECAUSE IT WAS ALREADY WORLD HERITAGE. ACTUALLY, SINCE 2010 MORE THAN 165 INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGES FROM SOUTH KALIMANTAN WERE REGISTERED; 243 BY THE YEAR 2016.

WHAT HAPPENED, I MEAN, WHAT IS THE OBJECTIVE OF HAVING THE DESIGNATION?

OUR GOAL IS TO PRESERVE WAYANG BANJAR THAT IS... ALMOST EXTINCT, IT COULD BE SAID?

YES.

ALMOST, NOT YET. WE WILL WORK TOGETHER WITH PEPADI. ACTUALLY, PAK YANI IS THE HEAD OF PEPADI SOUTH KALIMANTAN.

I JUST EMBRACED IT IN 2016, BUT PEPADI SOUTH KALIMANTAN HAS EXISTED FOR A LONG TIME, SINCE THE TIME OF TULUR.

IS THERE ANY PROGRAMME TO PRESERVE WAYANG BANJAR?

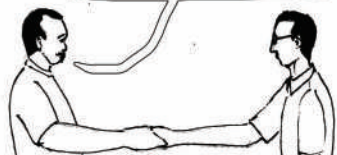
YES, IT IS MANDATORY WHEN DETERMINED THAT IT MUST BE PRESERVED. THE GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO COOPERATE WITH PEPADI FOR A KIND OF REVITALIZATION: FOR EXAMPLE WORKSHOPS, SEMINARS, PERFORMANCES, FESTIVALS AND COMPETITIONS WILL BE HELD.

HAVE YOU RECEIVED ANY SUPPORT FROM UNESCO FOR WAYANG BANJAR?

NOT YET, ONLY FROM THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT. UNESCO STATED THAT THE INDONESIAN SHADOW PUPPETRY IS INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF HUMANITY, NOT WAYANG BANJAR, NOR WAYANG PALEMBANG OR WAYANG BETAWI FOR EXAMPLE. THUS, EACH REGION MADE PROPOSALS.

TONIGHT THERE WILL BE AN EVENT OF ETHNIC MUSIC COLLABORATIONS. WE WOULD LIKE TO INTRODUCE YOU TO THE AUDIENCE SINCE IT IS A MATTER OF PRIDE FOR US TO HAVE YOU HERE COMING FROM ITALY AND STAYING OVERNIGHT HERE IN TAMAN BUDAYA.

WE WILL LEAVE FOR TWO SANGGAR: TARUNA JAYA AND ASAM BERIMBUN, 170 KM AND 145 KM RESPECTIVELY FROM TAMAN BUDAYA BANJARMASIN. THE JOURNEY TAKES AROUND FOUR TO FIVE HOURS. SHE WANTS TO SEE A WAYANG BANJAR PERFORMANCE.



Excerpts from the interview with fahrurazie, director of Taman Budaya South Kalimantan, Banjarmasin, April 21, 2017.

The following day, early in the morning, the same team - me, pak Yani and pak Aidil - reached the house of dalang Unan by car.



SHE IS ITALIAN AND STUDIES IN YOGYAKARTA. THE PURPOSE FOR COMING HERE IS TO FIND INFORMATION ABOUT WAYANG KULIT BANJAR. JUST A LITTLE, NOT MUCH HA HA HA. WHY IS OUR WAYANG DIFFERENT FROM THE OTHERS? BECAUSE OF BELINCONG, WITHOUT ELECTRICITY. THIS IS WHAT INTERESTS HER, WHOSE NAME IN YOGYAKARTA IS MBAK ENDANG, IN ITALY IT IS GIULIA, IN BANJAR IT IS GALU.

HA HA
HA HA

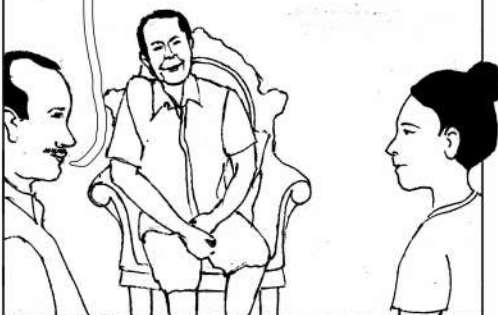


THANKS FOR RECEIVING US, PAK UNAN. ACTUALLY, CAN YOU SHARE YOUR LIFE STORY, HOW DID YOU BECOME DALANG?

IN 1985 SANGGAR SELENGSUKMA WAS ESTABLISHED. THE NAME SELENGSUKMA COMES FROM SELURUHAN MEANING CALLING PEOPLE AND SUKMA BODY - PEOPLE MAGICALLY ATTRACTED TO IT. WE COULDN'T PLAY WAYANG, JUST GAMES. THEN I BECAME A PUPPETEER FOLLOWING A SENIOR DALANG AS PENGRAWIT FOR TEN YEARS. I'M NOT A DALANG DESCENDANT, BUT SINCE CHILDHOOD I ENJOYED IT. I WAS IN A COMMUNITY OF PEOPLE THAT LIKE WAYANG.



IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN THERE ARE DALANG BY PROFESSION LIKE HIM, WHO IS DALANG AND CAN MAKE WAYANG PUPPETS TOO. BESIDES THAT, HE HAS A GROUP OF KUDA GEPAK, PERFORMING EVERY WEEK. WAYANG, DUE TO THE HIGH COSTS, IS RARE IN THE AREA.



WHAT'S THE COST OF A PERFORMANCE?

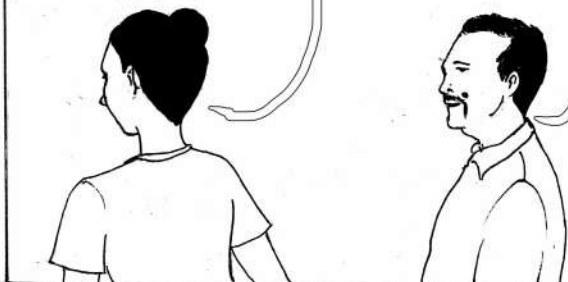
FIVE MILLION.

FIVE MILLION IN THIS AREA, BUT IF OUTSIDE ADD SOMETHING MORE.

ACCORDING TO THE PLACE. IF IT IS FAR AWAY, IT IS DIFFERENT AGAIN. SOMETIMES IT CAN BE IN CENTRAL KALIMANTAN.

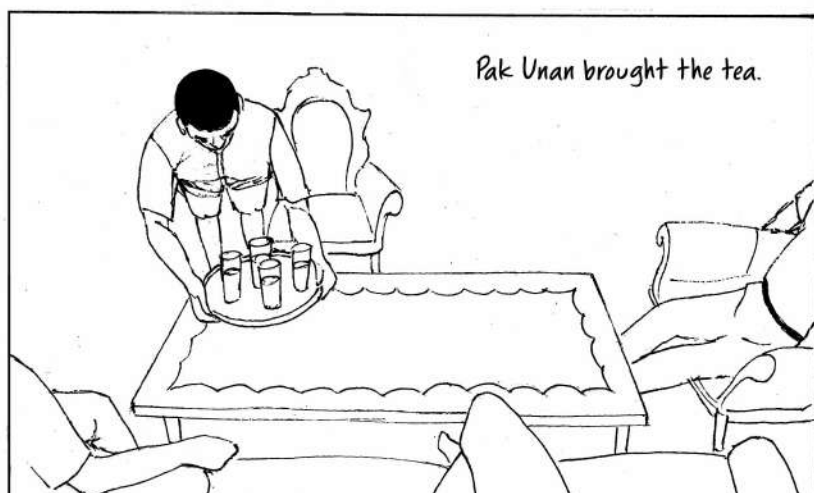


THEN, DO YOU TRAIN HERE, AT THIS SANGGAR?



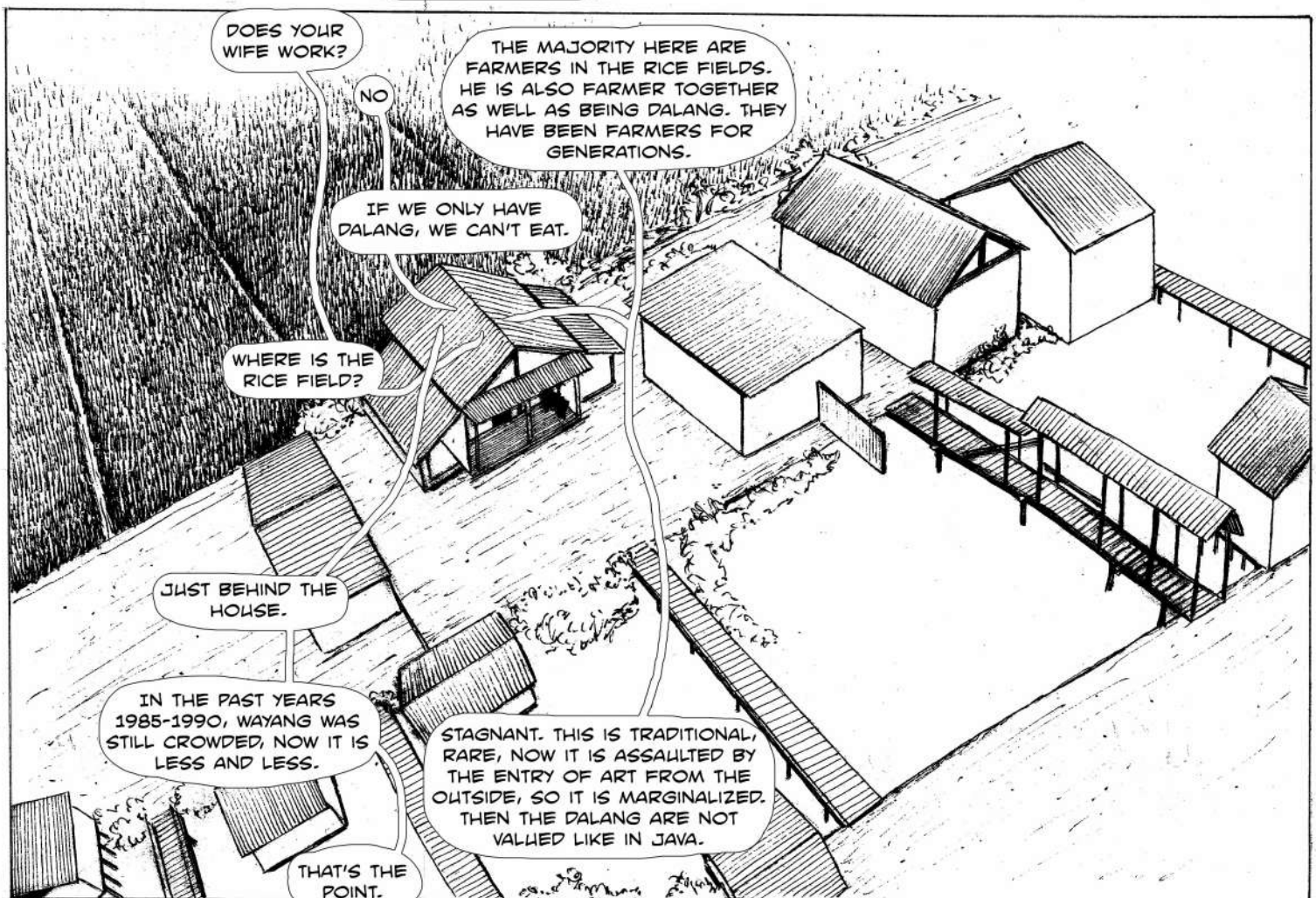
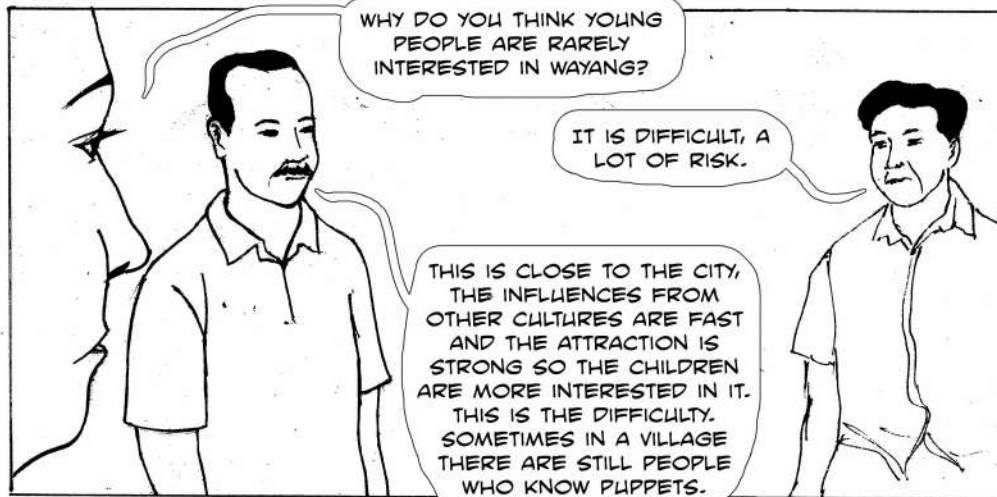
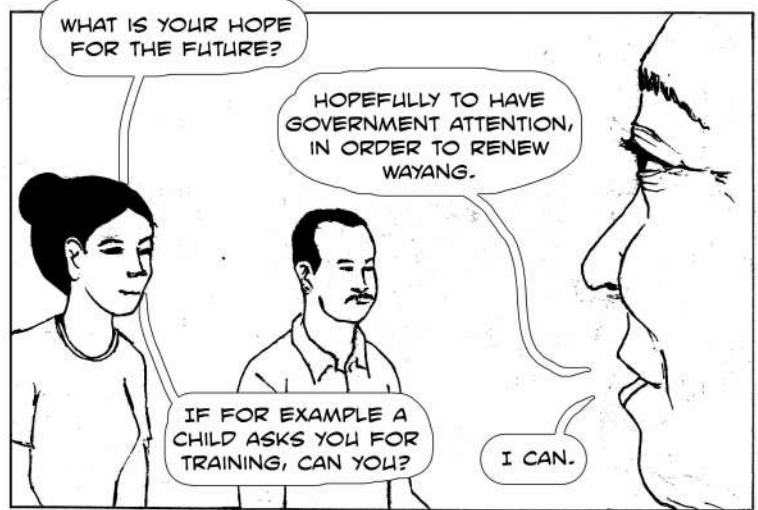
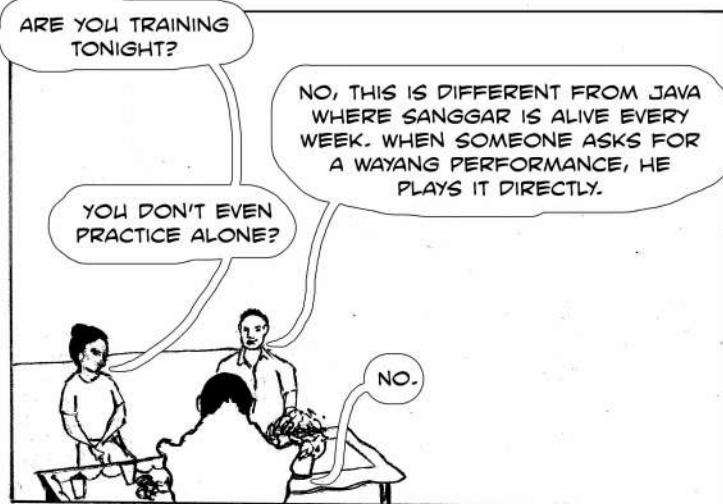
HE IS A DALANG AUTODIDACT - HE ALREADY KNOWS CARANGAN STORIES BY HEART. CARANGAN STORIES ARE CREATED SO THAT THE AUDIENCE DOES NOT GET BORED. MAHABHARATA AND RAMAYANA STORIES ARE ALREADY KNOWN, AND THEN POPULAR STORIES ARE MADE FOR INSPIRING THE COMMUNITY. THE TITLES ARE SIMILAR TO THE MOVIE TITLES FOR EXAMPLE, AS "MIRRORING IN A CRACKED MIRROR", "MISERY BRINGS PLEASURE", BUT THE STANDARD PAKEM STORIES OF MAHABHARATA AND RAMAYANA ARE STILL USED: FROM PAKEM TO CARANGAN AND BACK TO PAKEM.

PARTS OF THE STORIES ARE MIXED UP.



Pak Unan brought the tea.





IN JAVA, IF YOU ARE A DALANG, YOU ARE LIKE A RICH MAN, AN ULAMA: SOCIAL STATUS. WHY DIDN'T HE WANT TO TRANSMIT IT? FIRST, THE FUTURE PROSPECTS ARE LACKING. THEN, THE ARTS ARE OK, BUT IT IS NOT THE CASE FOR WAYANG HERE. THE NEW ARRIVALS CRUSHED IT, BUT HE IS ABLE TO HOLD ON, HE NEVER MOVED FROM BEING ONLY A TRADITIONAL ARTIST.

WE HAVE A DALANG PRINCIPLE: WHATEVER HAPPENS I REMAIN A DALANG. WHOEVER WANTS TO LEARN CAN LEARN. IF THEY DON'T NEED IT, NO PROBLEM, THE IMPORTANT THING IS I'M STILL A DALANG. THAT IS THE PRINCIPLE. THAT'S WHAT NEEDS TO BE TAKEN.

LIKE HIM RIGHT. THE ARTISTIC SOUL IS STRONG. BUT IF YOU TALK ECONOMICALLY, WHAT DO YOU DO?

MY OPINION: IF HE WAS IN JAVA, HE MIGHT HAVE AN EDUCATION. YESTERDAY, MAS MUJIYAT SAID THAT HE HAD THE CHOICE TO TAKE THIS PROFESSION OR THAT. YOU CAN CHOOSE. MEANWHILE HERE HE MADE IT BY HIMSELF. HE FOLLOWED TEN YEARS UNTIL HE LEARNT AS AN AUTODIDACT, A NATURAL LEARNING THAT GAVE HIM LESSONS. SO IT IS FAST, IT DOESN'T TAKE SCHOOL TIME, THIS IS HOW IT WORKS FOR KALIMANTAN PEOPLE. IN JAVA THERE IS EDUCATION, MUSIC SCHOOLS, PUPPETRY COURSES. OUR STRENGTH, THE GIFT OF BANJAR PEOPLE IS THAT BY JOINING, JUST BY OBSERVING NIGHT AND DAY FOR SEVERAL YEARS, THEY GET SKILLED. THIS IS AMAZING. THAT IS MY CONCLUSION, MY DESCRIPTION. SO HIS PROCESS IS ONLY NATURAL, A NATURAL PROCESS THAT PROVIDES LESSONS, WITH DILIGENCE, MEMORY.

THE PUPPETEERS IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN ARE LIKE THAT, AUTODIDACTS, DIRECTLY FOLLOWING THE SENIOR DALANG. AFTER THAT THEY ARE ABLE.

WHO WAS THE SENIOR DALANG HE FOLLOWED?

HIS UNCLE. IN HIS FAMILY HE WAS THE ONLY ONE WHO ENJOYED WAYANG. BECAUSE OF HIS HIGH MOTIVATION, WHEN HE WAS AT HOME HE PRACTISED BY HIMSELF EVEN WITHOUT PROPER TOOLS, SOMETIMES USING LEAVES.

AFTER A TIME PROBABLY THE NEIGHBOURS NOTICED HIM PRACTISING: "HE CAN PLAY WAYANG!" AND HE WAS CALLED TO AN EVENT TO PLAY. HE WAS BRAVE ENOUGH TO PERFORM. HIS UNCLE SAW HIM: "IT SEEMS THAT MY NEPHEW CAN PLAY; HE GAVE HIM THE KNOWLEDGE, HE RECEIVED JAMBI-JAMBI". HERE IT IS CALLED BEDUDUS, MEANING TO BATHE. BEFORE BECOMING DALANG HE MUST BE BATHED FIRST, GIVEN JAMBI-JAMBI SO HE BECOMES A PURE PUPPETEER. HERE IF THE PUPPETEER DOES NOT WANT THIS PROCESS, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT LATER TO ENTER THE WAYANG WORLD. FOR BANJAR PEOPLE WHEN THE PUPPETEER PLAYS WAYANG HIS SOUL MUST ACCESS TO ANOTHER PLACE. THIS KNOWLEDGE IS GIVEN BY THE SENIOR DALANG, IF HE WANTS TO. HE IS IN TRANS, OR IN TRANSFORMATION FROM THE REAL TO ANOTHER NATURE.

IT DEPENDS ON THE DALANG, RIGHT?

IF HE IS A DALANG, HE IS OBLIGED.

BUT AS I SAID BEFORE, ACADEMIC PEOPLE PLAY THE LOGIC.

IN WHAT OCCASION DO YOU PLAY WAYANG?

FOR MARRIAGE, GOVERNMENTAL EVENTS AS KEPALA DESA ELECTION, CIRCUMCISION. WAYANG BANJAR IS FOR ENTERTAINMENT, FOR BATATAMBA MEDICAL TREATMENT, FOR EXAMPLE WAYANG SAMPIR. FOR EXAMPLE, I AM SICK, BUT THE DOCTOR CANNOT DIAGNOSE ANY DISEASE. THEN I ASK FOR SAMPIR, I GET WELL.

IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE WOULD YOU LIKE TO SAY?

HE SAID THAT THERE IS A LOT OF PAIN BEING A PUPPETEER.

HE ENJOYS IT WHEN PEOPLE ARE TOUCHED, WHEN THE AUDIENCE IS AMAZED.

BACK HOME THE MONEY IS THERE, BUT IN ONE WEEK IT IS FINISHED, AND MAYBE ONLY THREE MONTHS LATER SOMEONE WANTS WAYANG AGAIN.

FINALLY HE LOOKED FOR ANOTHER SIDE JOB, AS A FARMER.

FARMERS HERE HARVEST ONCE A YEAR, EVERY SIX MONTHS. IMAGINE, ONCE A YEAR AND THEY EAT ONLY THAT, RICE AND RICE.

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE CANNOT BE EXPECTED; FROM THE COMMUNITY IT IS ALSO DIFFICULT BECAUSE THEY ARE FARMERS TOO.

TO HARVEST EVERY THREE MONTHS IS BY FERTILIZER, BUT TRADITIONAL PEOPLE DON'T LIKE THAT WAY.

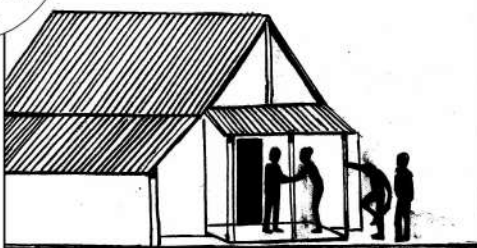
THE FARMER IS AN HONEST PERSON, IN THE MORNING AFTER THE PRAYER HE IS READY FOR WORK AT SEVEN.

HALF A DAY, HE GOES BACK HOME FOR THE PRAYER OF TWELVE AND A SHOWER, TAKES A BREAK FOR ONE OR TWO HOURS, THEN EATS AND GOES TO WORK AGAIN.

THIS IS THE ROUTINE, THIS IS THE STRENGTH.

THE PRINCIPLES OF TRADITIONAL PEOPLE ARE VERY STRONG, VERY STRONG. HE IS SIXTY-THREE YEARS OLD AND STILL A STRONG FARMER.

We finished our tea and thanked him for his time.



Excerpts of the interview with dalang Unan at his house/sanggar Selengsukma, April 22, 2017.

HIS INDONESIAN IS POOR. DALANG UNAN IS OUR TROUBLED DALANG. IF KI MANTEB COMES TO BANJARMASIN HE GETS A HUNDRED MILLION RUPIAH.

KI MANTEB IS A DALANG THAT BECAME A SUPERSTAR.

HE IS A MAESTRO.

While in the car



BUT WHAT IS THE MINIMUM FOR PERFORMANCE IN JAWA THAT YOU KNOW?

OH WELL, SOME DALANG TOLD ME THAT SOMETIMES THEY DO NOT GIVE THE PRICE, "IT'S UP TO YOU HOW MUCH YOU WANT TO GIVE" THEY SAY, ESPECIALLY TO FAMILIES.

OH THAT CAN BE THE CASE.

THE FAMOUS DALANG LIKE KI MANTEB PROBABLY HAS A MINIMUM PRICE. IN YOGYAKARTA, FOR EXAMPLE, KI SENO NUGROHO, WHO IS QUITE WELL KNOWN THERE, ASKED FOR TWENTY MILLION RUPIAH FOR A PERFORMANCE IN YOGYAKARTA.

HERE THE HIGHEST VALUE IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN FOR A DALANG THAT IS ALREADY FAMOUS IS FIFTEEN MILLION RUPIAH.

WHO IS THE MOST FAMOUS ONE?

DALANG DIMAN

THE ONE WE WILL VISIT TOMORROW.

DALANG RAHMADI, FROM SANGGAR TARUNA JAYA, IS AROUND TEN MILLION RUPIAH.

ONLY TAMAN BUDAYA CAN PAY TEN, PEOPLE DON'T WANT IT. OTHER ARTS CAN RENEW SOCIETY VERY QUICKLY, BUT NOT FOR THE LONG TERM. KARAOKE IS TEMPORARY. WAYANG WAS LONG HELD UNTIL NOW. THE DIFFICULTY IS TO DEVELOP. PAK DIMAN DEVELOPS EXTRAORDINARILY, YOU CAN ASK TOMORROW.

IN THE PAST, THERE WAS ONLY WAYANG, EVERY MARRIAGE AT NIGHT HAD WAYANG, NOW THEY DON'T. JUST LOOK ON SATURDAY NIGHT, PEOPLE SING KARAOKE FOR MARRIAGE ON THE ROAD. TRADITIONAL ART IS STAGNANT BECAUSE IT IS DIFFICULT TO DEVELOP. TAMAN BUDAYA IS THE ONE THAT CAN DEVELOP IT, BUT IT IS LIMITED BY THE BUDGET.

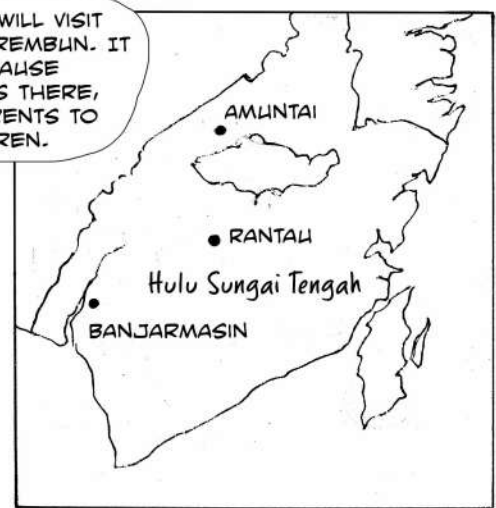


We stop in a warung* to eat soup.

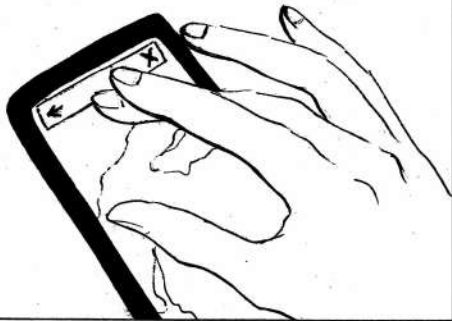


*food stand

TOMORROW YOU WILL VISIT SANGGAR ASAM BEREMBUN. IT IS GOOD BECAUSE REGENERATION IS THERE, FROM GRANDPARENTS TO GRANDCHILDREN.



THE DISTANCES ARE QUITE FAR. IF YOU LOOK HERE ON THE MAP IT IS CLOSE, BUT THE ROAD IS DIFFICULT.



HOW MANY DALANG ARE ACTIVE NOW?



THIRTY OR FORTY HERE IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN. TWO DAYS TO VISIT ALL OF THEM IS NOT ENOUGH.

IN KOTABARU THERE ARE ALSO TWO PUPPETEERS, IT TAKES ONE FULL DAY BY CAR UNTIL THERE, FORTY-FIVE MINUTES BY PLANE.



The following day, April 23, 2017, early in the morning pak Yani with his spouse and daughter came to pick me up at Taman Budaya. After driving for four hours we finally reached sanggar Asam Berembun, in Hulu Sungai Tengah, Barabai, pantai Hambawang.

ASAM BEREMBUN GROUP EXISTS SINCE 1967 WITH MY FATHER.

ON THE ROADSIDE, THERE IS A TAMARIND TREE. WHEN THE SUN IS HIGH MANY PEOPLE WALKING AND SELLING TAKE SHELTER THERE, IT IS FRESH AND WINDY.

THEN PEOPLE STARTED TO REFER TO THAT PLACE AS ASAM BEREMBUN.

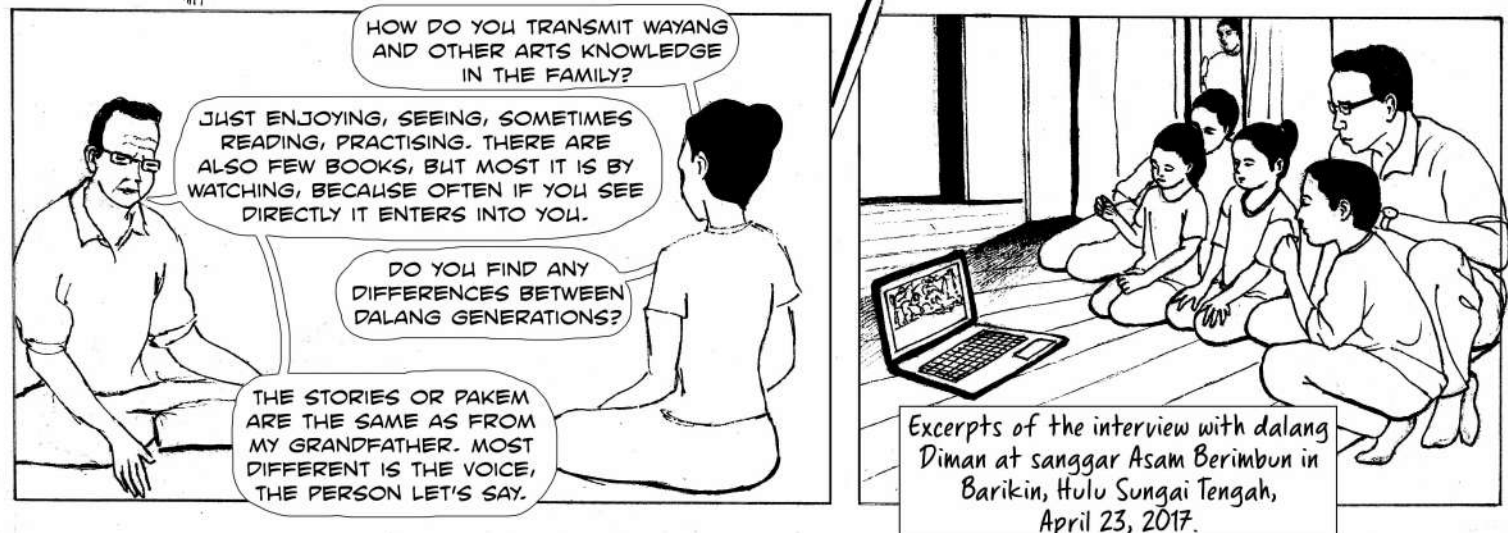
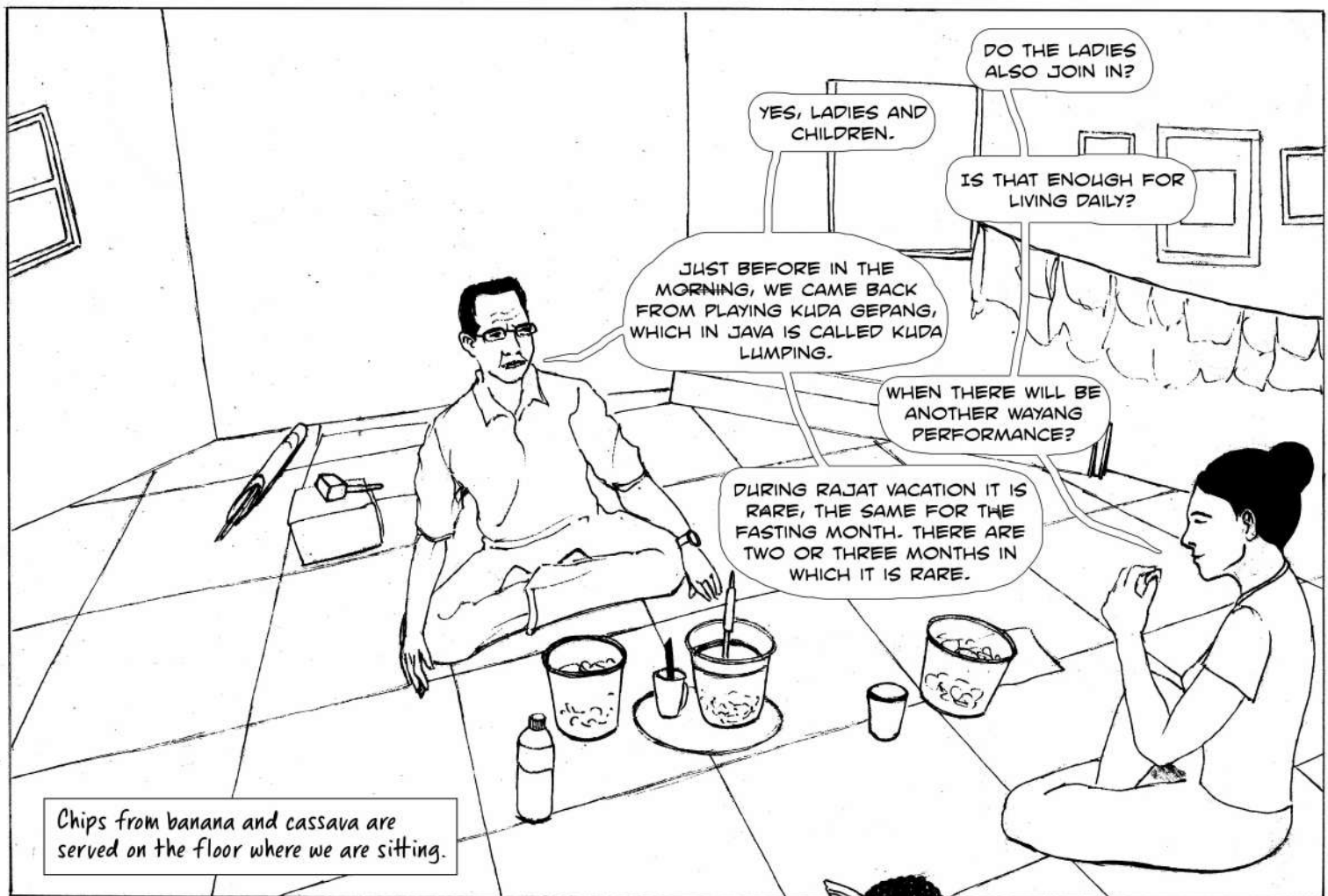
ASAM IS TAMARIND TREE; BEREMBUN MEANS DEWY. THE GROUP MAINTAINED THE NAME OF ASAM BEREMBUN AS A TRIBUTE TO THE PLACE.

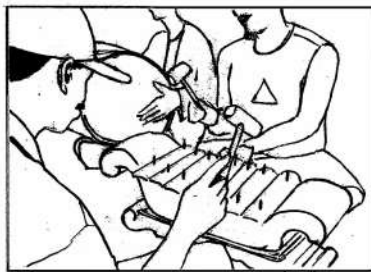
MY FATHER WAS A DALANG, MY GRANDFATHER TOO IN THE 1930S.

FROM THE AGE OF SEVEN I STARTED TO JOIN THE PERFORMANCE AND TO LEARN HOW TO MAKE THE TOOLS, THE PUPPETS AND THE MASKS BY MYSELF.

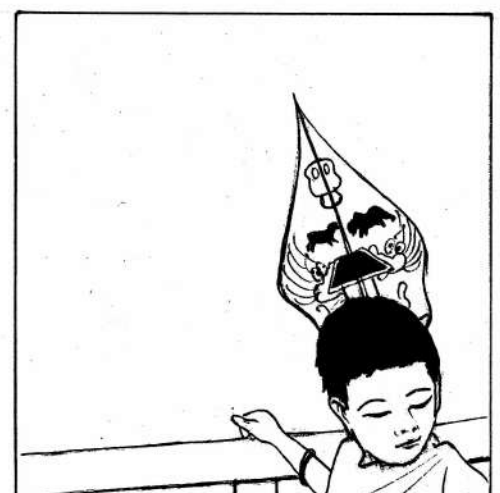
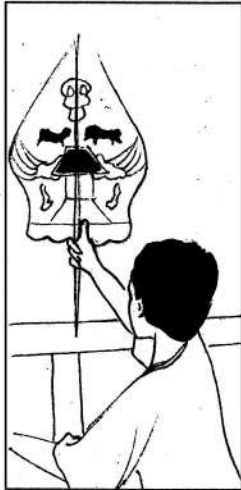
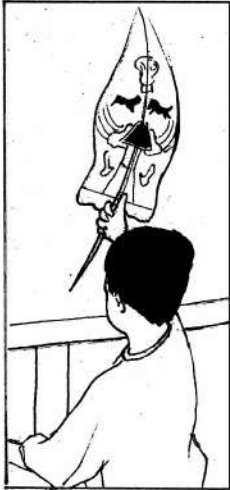


WE DID PAINTING, DRAWING AND CARVING, ALL IN THE FAMILY. WHATEVER WE NEED FOR ART WE DO BY OURSELVES. WE NEED PUPPETS, WE MAKE IT; WE NEED CLOTHS, WE DO IT; MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AS WELL WE MAKE BY OURSELVES; THE MASKS TOO. WHATEVER WE CAN, WE MAKE IT. THE SOUND SYSTEM WE CAN'T MAKE, IF WE WERE CAPABLE WE WOULD DO IT. UNTIL MONEY COMES OUT FOR FOOD, WE JUST DO ART, NOT BUSINESS. IT IS LIKE THIS FOR GENERATIONS UNTIL MY GRANDSON. I HAD FIVE SONS AND ELEVEN GRANDCHILDREN.





The family gave me a short demonstration of wayang Banjar with pak Diman's young nephew as dalang.



The day after, we visited the other sanggars in Barikin.

I'M CALLED DALANG LPIK, THE YOUNGEST FROM SOUTH KALIMANTAN. I'M ALREADY THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS OLD. SINCE I WAS A CHILD, I HAVE LIKED TO JOIN WAYANG PERFORMANCE EVERYWHERE. MY FATHER WAS DALANG, MY GRANDFATHER TOO. DESCENDANTS CONTINUE WAYANG CULTURE, OTHERWISE IT DIES. THE YOUTH NOW NO LONGER LIKE WAYANG DUE TO THE CHANGES OF THIS ERA; MUCH MODERNITY COME IN, MODERN ART TOO. TRADITIONAL ARTS ARE NOT EASILY WELCOMED BY YOUNG PEOPLE. MY SANGGAR MAKES WAYANG KULIT, WAYANG ORANG AND WAYANG GONG. MAYBE I HAVE MORE SKILLS THAN OTHERS, SO I CAN TRANSMIT THEM TO CHILDREN.

BUT THEY WILL NOT NECESSARILY BE DALANG WHEN THEY GROW UP.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

WHEN DID YOU BECOME DALANG?

AROUND THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN. WHEN I WAS AT SCHOOL I DIDN'T WANT TO BE DALANG AT THE SAME TIME. AFTER SCHOOL, I HAD A FAMILY AND I COULD BE DALANG.

HOW MANY TIMES PER MONTH MIGHT YOU PLAY WAYANG?

AROUND THREE TIMES. IT IS ALREADY REDUCED. IT WAS ALMOST TWICE A WEEK, EVEN MORE AFTER LEBARAN. NOW IT IS LACKING, THE FASTING MONTH IS NEAR, RIGHT? SO IT'S LESS.

BECOMING DALANG IS NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF INHERITANCE, THE PRINCIPLES CAN CHANGE GROWING UP, RIGHT? A CHILD WILL NOT NECESSARILY BE DALANG, EVEN IF THE SOUL IS THERE.

I WAS AT BANJARMASIN TVRI FOR A LIVE PERFORMANCE OF WAYANG KULIT.

IS THERE ANY HELP FROM THE GOVERNMENT?

JUST A LITTLE, IF THEY HELP I RECEIVED, IF NOT IT IS OK. IT ONLY DEPENDS ON OUR MINDS IF WE WANT TO BE HELPED BY UNESCO.

DID YOU RECEIVE SUPPORT FROM UNESCO?

MAYBE ANOTHER SANGGAR.

WHAT IS THE NAME OF THIS SANGGAR?

SANGGAR ANAK PANDAWA*

*Pandawa Children

HOW MANY ARTISTS ARE IN IT?

ALMOST SIXTY-FIVE BETWEEN DANCERS AND MUSICIANS.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER WORK?

I'M ONLY ARTIST - I HAVE NO OTHER WORK LIKE FARMING, NO. MY DAILY WORK IS TO MAKE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND WHATEVER IS IMPORTANT FOR ART. SOME MEMBERS WORK IN THE RICE FIELDS.

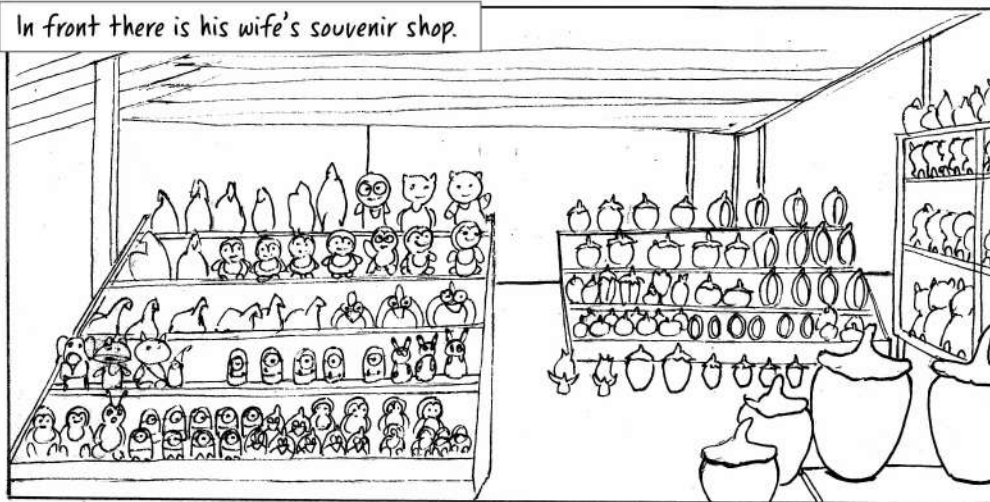
HOW DO YOU MAKE GAMELAN INSTRUMENTS?

IT'S FROM ORDINARY IRON, LIKE FROM THE CARS.

SECOND-HAND METAL?

YES.

In front there is his wife's souvenir shop.



MY BROTHER DOESN'T LIKE THE ARTIST'S LIFE. HE LIKES SELLING T-SHIRTS, PANTS. ACTUALLY, WHEN HE WAS LITTLE HE PLAYED MASK DANCE, THEN WHEN ALREADY GROWN UP, HE DOES NOT LIKE IT ANYMORE, JUST LIKE I SAID BEFORE, RIGHT?

IF A DALANG IS FROM KALIMANTAN, IF HE HAS ALREADY EXPERIENCED THE NEXT NATURE, YOU WANT IT OR NOT, YOU HAVE TO BE DALANG. IF I HADN'T BECOME DALANG, MAYBE I WOULD HAVE FORGOTTEN THIS MEMORY.

NOT NECESSARILY. ACTUALLY, A DALANG HAS TO MASTER GAMELAN INSTRUMENTS, IF YOU WANT TO BE DALANG YOU MUST BE ABLE TO PLAY GAMELAN INSTRUMENT. WHAT IF HE CAN'T? MUSIC AND WAYANG WOULD NOT BE FUSED, UNITED. MOST OF DALANG NOW CAN'T PLAY GAMELAN. FIRST HE SHOULD MASTER GAMELAN, THEN BECOME DALANG. NOW IT IS NOT LIKE THIS AND THE AUDIENCE DOESN'T LIKE IT, IT'S NOT CROWDED. WHY? WAYANG IS PLAYED WRONGLY WITH WRONG MUSIC. NOW THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO BECOME DALANG. IF I CAN PLAY GAMELAN, I CAN MAKE WAYANG PUPPETS, LATER I CAN BECOME DALANG. THE PROCESS FOR BECOMING DALANG IS DIFFICULT, IT MUST MEET THE NECESSITIES, STUDY AND MASTER PAKEM.

DO ALL DALANG NECESSARILY HAVE SUCH EXPERIENCE?

I ASKED ELDERS WHO KNOW THE PAKEM. THERE ARE TWO PAKEM IN WAYANG: ONE RAMAYANA, THE SECOND MAHABHARATA, TO BE MEMORIZED. PAKEM IS SAID. THEN I STUDIED IN JAVA TO DEEPENING MY KNOWLEDGE, ADDING EXPERIENCE AND INSIGHT.

WHAT'S THE SOURCE OF YOUR LEARNING?

NO, STILL PAKEM. I DO NOT DARE TO CHANGE, MAKE NEW, I DO NOT DARE. WAYANG BANJAR'S SHAPE IS LIKE THAT.

DO YOU MAKE PUPPETS FROM YOUR OWN IMAGINATION?

MAHABHARATA, BUT MOST OF THE STORIES IN BANJARMASIN ARE CALLED CARANGAN, NOT PAKEM. CARANGAN STORIES ARE DIRECTLY MADE AND MEMORIZED BY THE DALANG, WITHOUT USING TEXT. ANYWAY WE HAVE SEVERAL WAYANG.

WHAT IS A POPULAR STORY HERE?

ONE IS WAYANG ENTERTAINMENT, THE SECOND WAYANG BATATAMBA, THE THIRD WAYANG SAMPIR.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEM?

WAYANG ENTERTAINMENT IS NOT SACRED, THE SHOW IS NOT WITH OFFERINGS. IT IS FOR WEDDINGS AND ANNIVERSARIES. WAYANG BATATAMBA OR SAMPIR IS BY USING OFFERINGS. FOR EXAMPLE, I AM SICK AND I WANT TO HEAL - LATER IN WAYANG SAMPIR I TAKE OIL FROM THE BELINCONG. WAYANG SAMPIR IS RARE. SACRED WAYANG USES OFFERINGS SUCH AS CAKES MADE BY OLD LADIES. WAYANG ENTERTAINMENT DOES NOT USE ANYTHING, JUST PERFORMANCE.

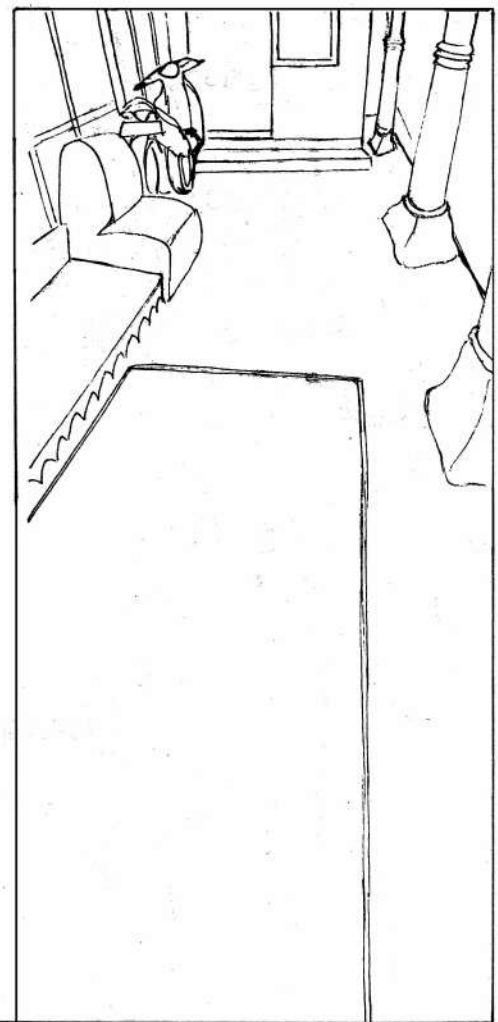
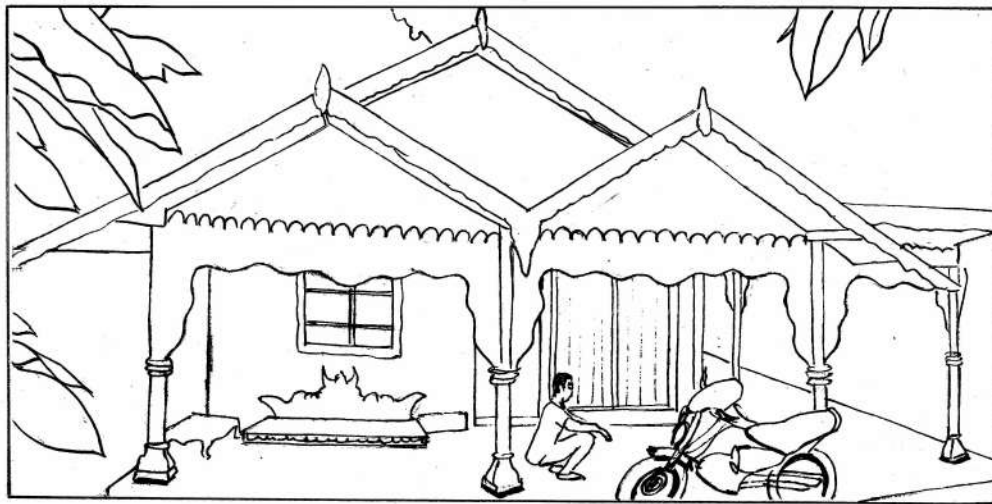
Dalang Upik appeared in an online article "Dalang Upik wayang kulit craftsman from HST who still survive" in Antara News South Kalimantan, dated February 13, 2019.

IS THE SACRED WAYANG ALL THE NIGHT?

IT'S THE SAME. FIRST IS THE SACRED PART, THEN WAYANG ORDINARY PERFORMANCE.

Excerpts of the interview with dalang Upik at sanggar anak Pandawa in Barikin, Hulu Sungai Tengah, April 24, 2017.





SHE IS THE DAUGHTER OF DALANG TULUR ALMARHUM FROM SOUTH KALIMANTAN. SO SHE KNOWS BETTER THAN ME. SHE IS A TRADITIONAL VOCALIST, THE FIRST VOCALIST FOR PANTING MUSIC IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN.



WAYANG BANJAR WAS BROUGHT HERE BY TARUNA FROM DEMAK KINGDOM. TARUNA IS THE NAME OF OUR ANCESTORS HERE. TARUNA WAS ONE FAMILY WITH DATURTAYA, THE ONE WHO GAVE CONTINUITY TO WAYANG BANJAR IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN INCLUDING THE DECEASED DALANG TULUR. TULUR PASSED DOWN TO DALANG DIMANSYA OF ASAM BEREMBUN. DALANG DIMANSYA IS FROM HERE, STILL ONE FAMILY, BUT HE GOT HIS WIFE THERE, THEN HE SETTLED THERE, 5 KM FROM HERE. DALANG SPREAD OUT LIVING EVERYWHERE, BUT ACTUALLY THEY ARE FROM HERE. MOST MUSICIANS COME FROM HERE. DALANG PUSTRA IS JUST BEHIND HERE, DALANG HARUA AND SATRI. THERE ARE FOUR. DALANG LIPIK IS THE SON OF THE DECEASED DALANG SATRI.

ARE THEY ALL CONNECTED, ONE FAMILY?

WE HAVE GIVEN THE TRUST TO PRESERVE WAYANG BANJAR, NOT BE LOST. IT IS THE FAMILY LINE AS I SAID EARLIER, BUT IF SOMEONE WANTS TO LEARN WE JUST TEACH IT, THERE ARE NO PROBLEMS, MEANING IT'S NOT CLOSED. ANYONE ELSE CAN LEARN IT, BUT WHAT IS CLEAR IS THAT FOR THE LINEAGE OF THE FAMILY IT REMAINS TO BE MONITORED, NOT TO LOSE IT.

IS THERE A NEW GENERATION OF DALANG?

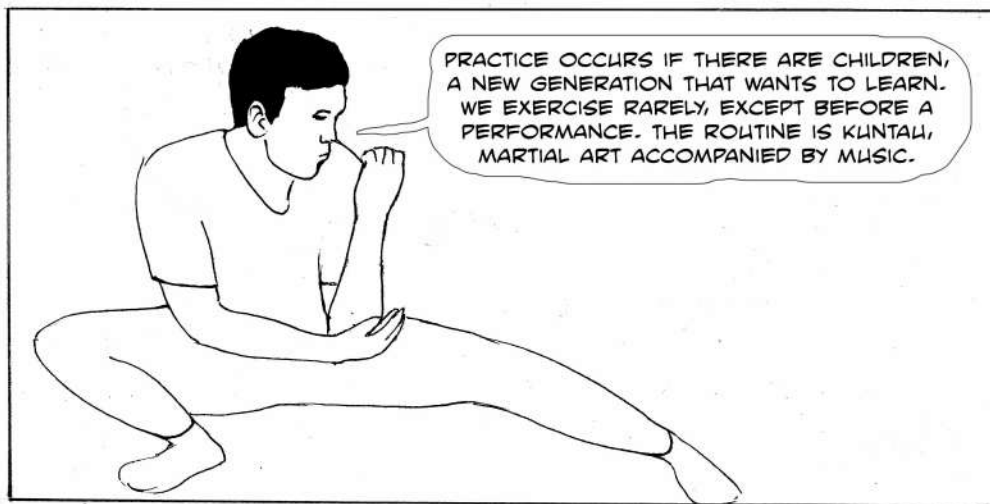
THERE IS A CHILD, BUT HE IS NOT YET ABLE TO PLAY. HE MUST LEARN STILL.



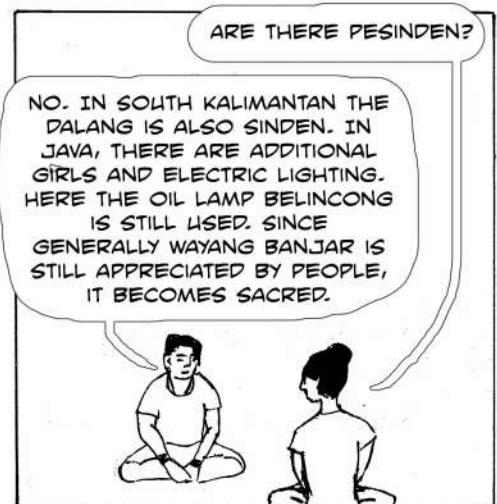
DO YOU TRAIN WAYANG ONLY OR VARIOUS KINDS OF ART?

GAMELAN, MUSIC, WAYANG GONG, WAYANG ORANG, DANCES.





PRACTICE OCCURS IF THERE ARE CHILDREN, A NEW GENERATION THAT WANTS TO LEARN. WE EXERCISE RARELY, EXCEPT BEFORE A PERFORMANCE. THE ROUTINE IS KUNTAU, MARTIAL ART ACCOMPANIED BY MUSIC.



ARE THERE PESINDEN?

NO. IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN THE DALANG IS ALSO SINDEN. IN JAVA, THERE ARE ADDITIONAL GIRLS AND ELECTRIC LIGHTING. HERE THE OIL LAMP BELINCONG IS STILL USED. SINCE GENERALLY WAYANG BANJAR IS STILL APPRECIATED BY PEOPLE, IT BECOMES SACRED.

THE AUDIENCE CAN REQUEST THE OIL FROM THE LAMP.

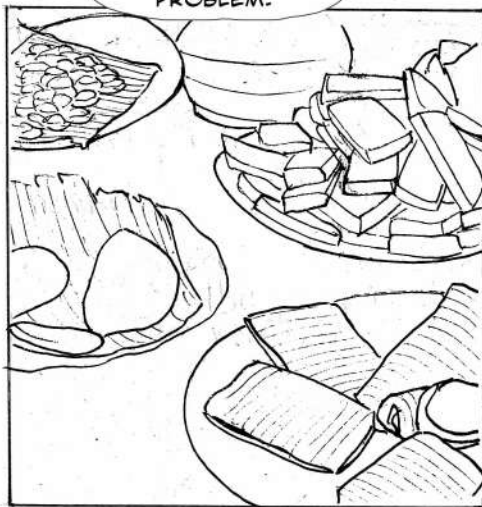
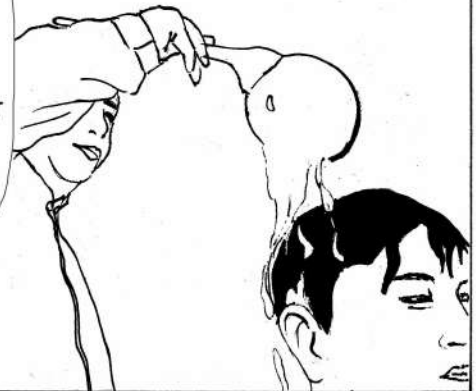
DOES IT SERVE FOR SOMETHING IN PARTICULAR?

WELL IT DEPENDS ON WHO BELIEVES.

FROM YOUR VIEW?

FOR ME, IT IS A MATTER OF CONVICTION. IF THEY BELIEVE, THERE IS NO PROBLEM.

TO BE DALANG IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN THERE IS A PROCESS THAT YOU HAVE TO GO THROUGH, EVEN IF YOU CAN PLAY WAYANG. BEFORE PLAYING WAYANG FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE DALANG IS SANCTIFIED. THE SENIOR DALANG BATHES HIM. HE IS CROWNED AS DALANG, HE PLAYS WAYANG AT NIGHT AND THEN HE CAN PLAY EVERYWHERE. PREVIOUSLY, A DALANG ALSO WAS AN IMPORTANT FIGURE FOR THE COMMUNITY.



WHY IS IT NOW DIFFICULT TO BE DALANG AS A PROFESSION, EVEN IF IT IS RESPECTED?

BECAUSE OF THE SHIFT OF TIMES. THERE ARE A LOT OF PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS NOW. WHEN THERE WAS NO TELEVISION OR OTHER ENTERTAINMENTS YET IN THE VILLAGES, MARRIAGES DEFINITELY HAD A WAYANG KULIT PERFORMANCE. NOW THERE ARE MANY CHOICES, ONLY CERTAIN PEOPLE STILL REQUIRE WAYANG, MOSTLY IN THE VILLAGE LIKE IN THIS AREA. IN URBAN AREAS THE INTEREST FOR WAYANG HAS STARTED TO BE VERY THIN. MAYBE THIS IS ONE OF THE SHIFTS OF TIME.

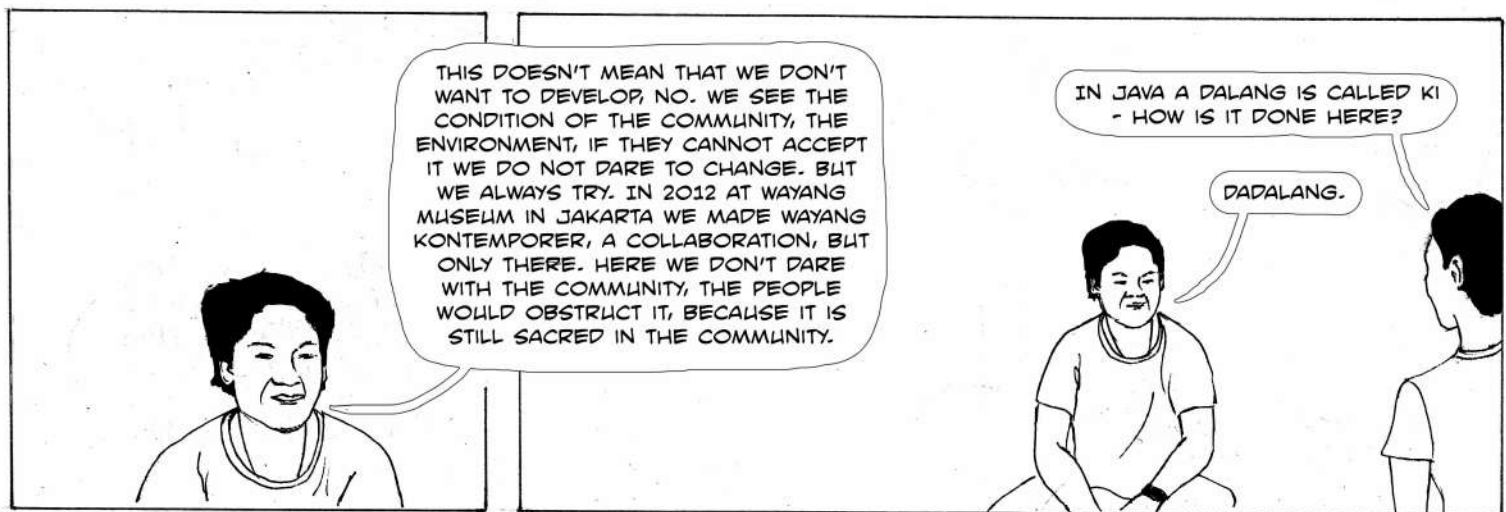
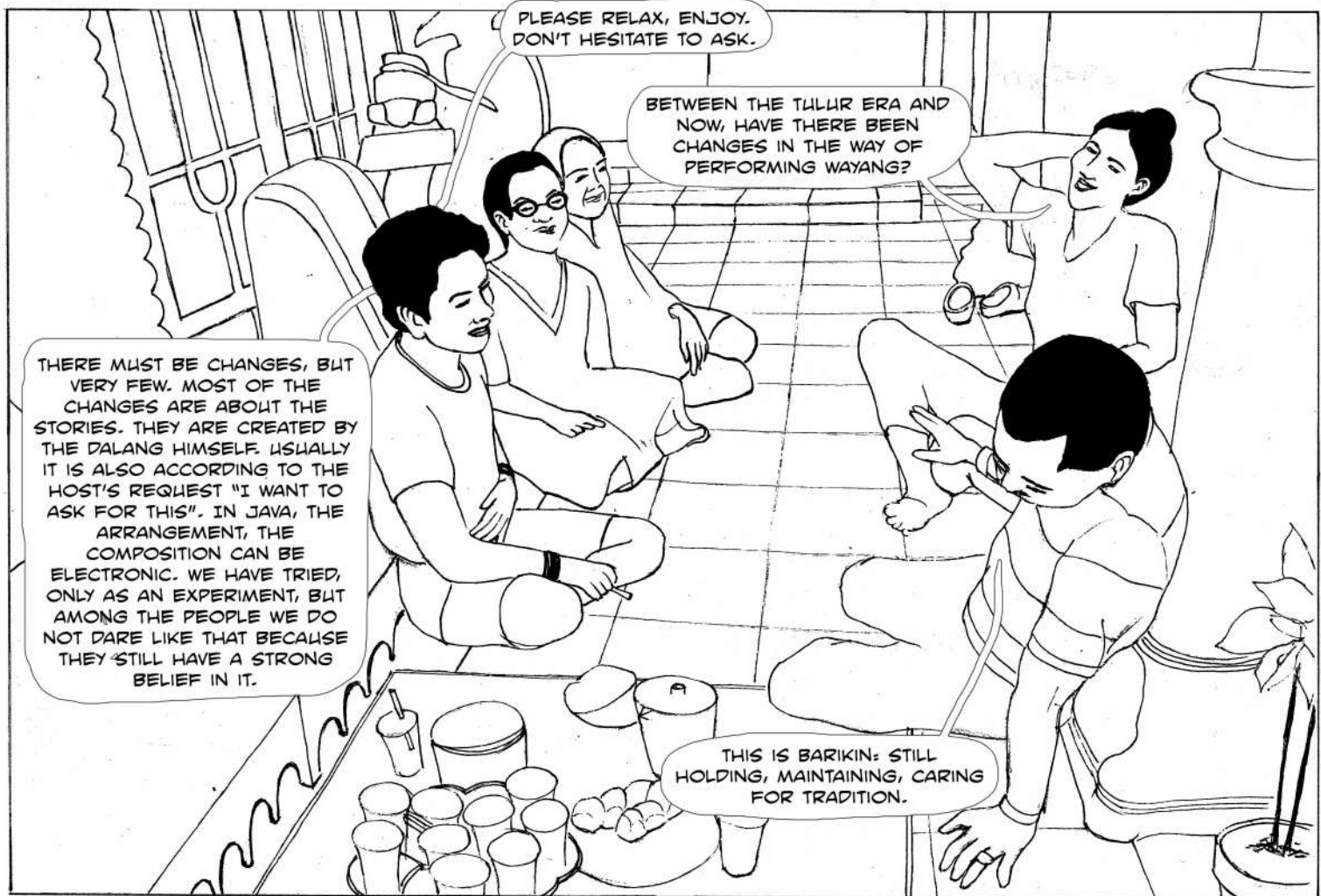


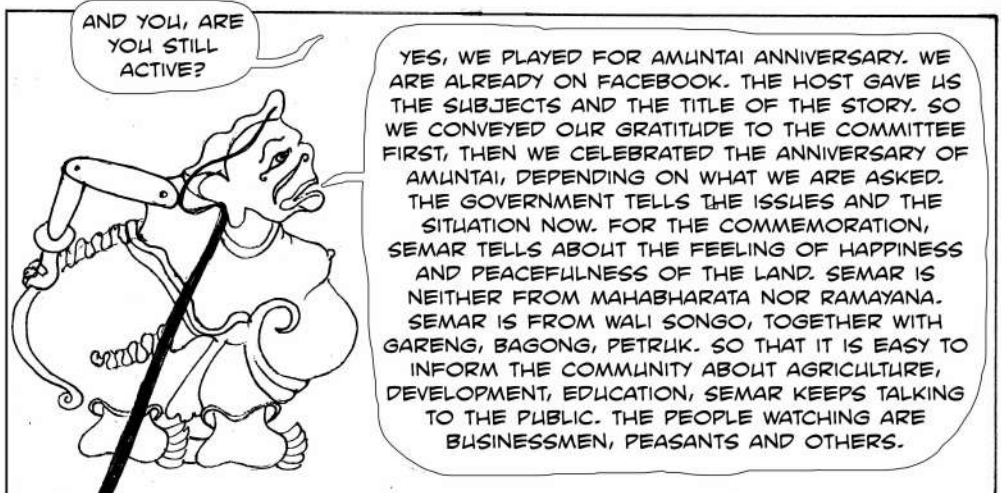
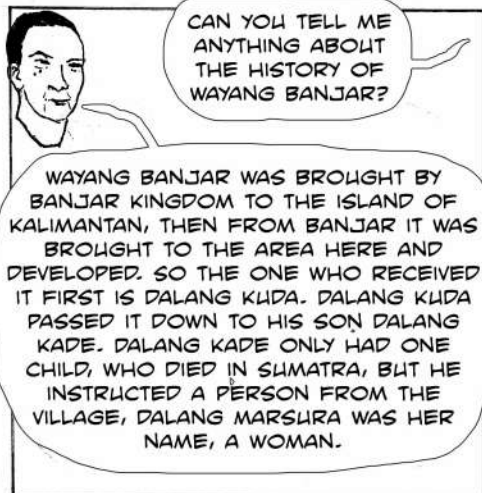
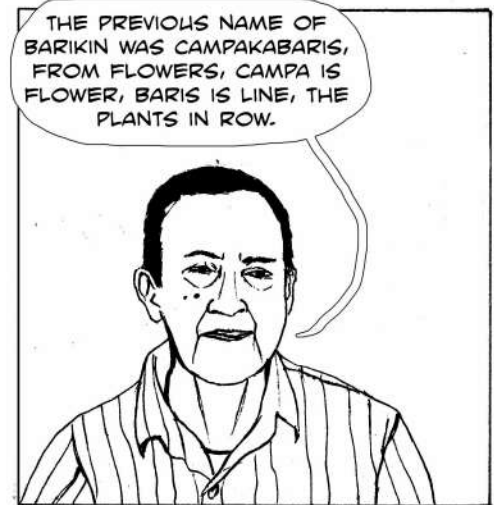
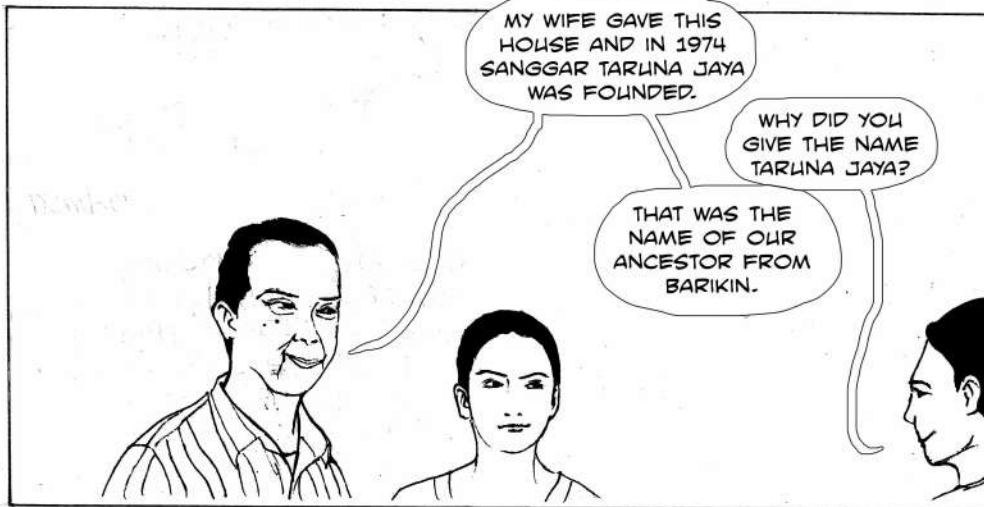
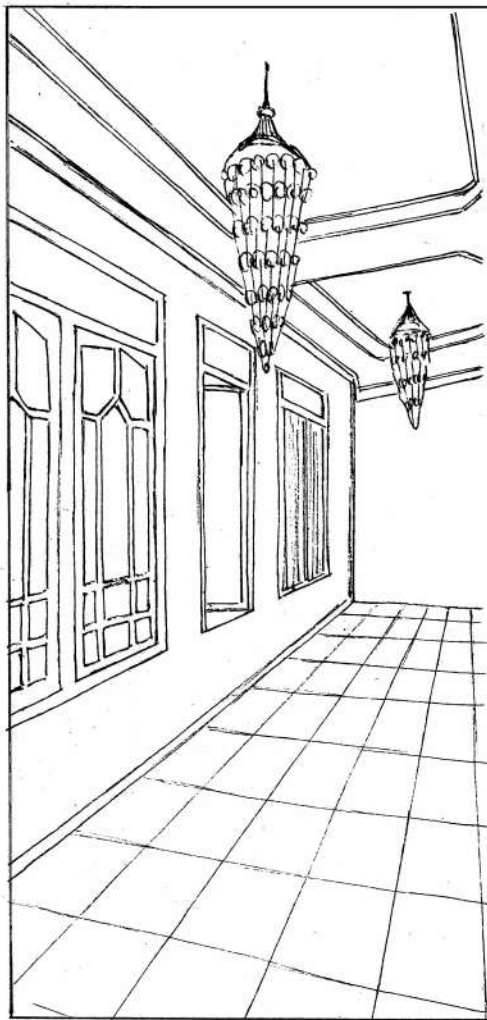
NOW ONLY ONE PERSON CAN PLAY WITH TWO OR THREE SINGERS AND THE SHOW IS DONE. MEANWHILE THE DALANG BRINGS TEN MUSICIANS OR MORE, THEN THE FOOD, THE STAGE AND EVERYTHING, THE COST IS MUCH MORE. ANYWAY COMPARED TO WAYANG COSTS IN JAVA OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS, HERE IT IS NOT SO HIGH.

IS YOUR FATHER ALSO A TRADITIONAL ARTIST?

HE ALSO STUDIED DALANG, BUT HE DIDN'T BECOME DALANG. HE IS MORE INTO MUSIC AND DANCE. I AM ALSO MORE INTO TRADITIONAL MUSIC, KARAWITAN AND PANTING.

Lupi Anderiani published an article on panting music in Barikin (2016).





HE USUALLY HAS THE COMMISSION AND MISSION TO EXPLAIN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA, FOR EXAMPLE HULU SUNGAI UTARA IN AMUNTAI REGENCY. THE COMMISSION FROM THE GOVERNMENT IS TO CONFER A VISION OF THE SITUATION TO THE CLOSE COMMUNITY. THE MISSION SUCCEEDS THROUGH WAYANG, BECAUSE DALANG LANGUAGE IS THE LANGUAGE OF THE PEOPLE.



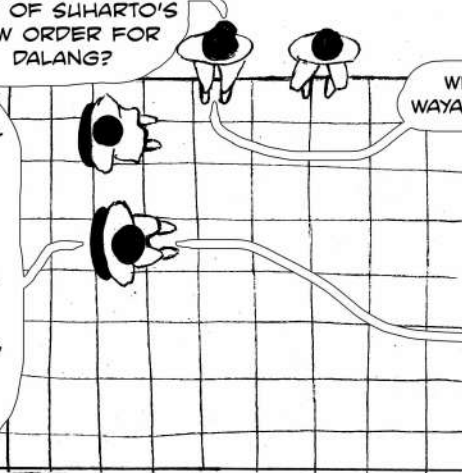
IF SOMETHING HAPPENS IT MUST BE THE DALANG FOR SURE! THAT'S NOT TRUE. THE PUPPETEER GIVES A VISION; HE GIVES INDICATION SINCE A WAY OUT FROM CONFUSION MUST EXIST. A DALANG IS A PROVOCATEUR, IF YOU WANT. DALANG JUST GIVES DIRECTIONS FOR HUMANS TO BECOME RESPECTABLE, THE DRUNK AND THE THIEF STOPS AND BECOME GOOD.

HOW WAS IT AT THE TIME OF SUHARTO'S NEW ORDER FOR DALANG?

PAK HARTO LIKES DALANG, INDEED WE WERE CALLED TO THE PRESIDENT'S PALACE. ONCE IN 1988 I PLAYED IN TAMAN ISMAIL MARZUKI. I WAS IN YOGYAKARTA AT THE TIME OF PAK HARTO; A WAYANG GONG SHOW WAS HELD AT THE BURUBUDUR TEMPLE IN 1983 FOR THE RENOVATION. I JOINED AS RAMA WHEN I WAS HANDSOME. AT TAMAN ISMAIL I WAS ALSO RAMA. IN SUHARTO'S ERA THERE WAS A PUPPETRY DEPARTMENT, SO THE TRAINING WAS THERE, ARTISTS AND DALANG. SUHARTO ENTERED THE VILLAGES, THE COUNTRYSIDE, THE DAYAK AND THE FORESTS. HE LIKES THE ARTISTS, WAYANG, WAYANG ORANG.

WHAT ABOUT WAYANG PUPPETS?

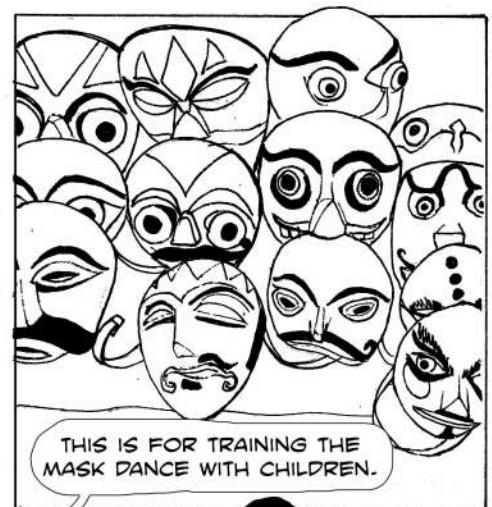
WE MADE THEM BY OURSELVES, WAYANG PURWA BANJAR,



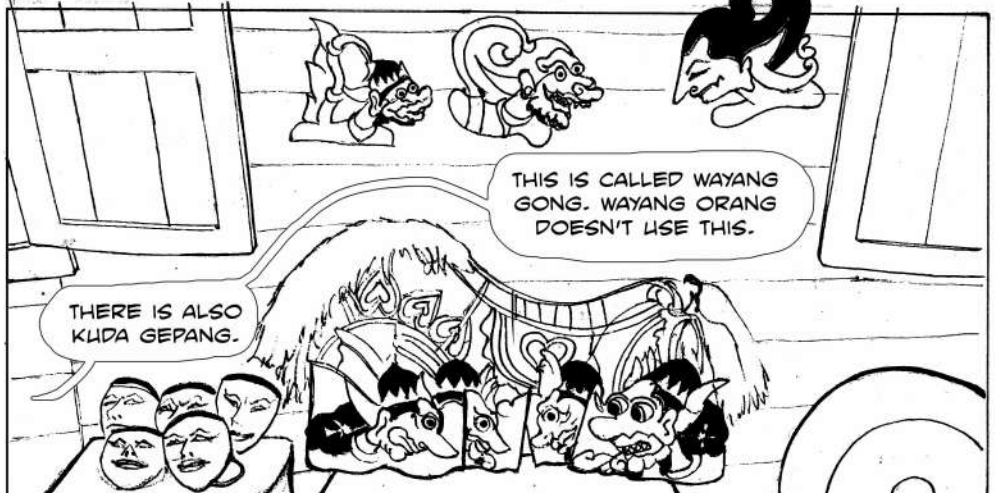
IF YOU WANT TO SEE.



THIS IS FOR TRAINING THE MASK DANCE WITH CHILDREN.



THESE ARE PANJI MASKS MADE BY FRIENDS.



THIS IS CALLED WAYANG GONG. WAYANG ORANG DOESN'T USE THIS.

THERE IS ALSO KUDA GEPANG.

THIS IS BELINCONG, STILL IN USE. IT CONTAINS KEROSENE. THE ROPE IS HERE. THE PUPPETS SHAKE SLIGHTLY. BREATHE. THE BREATH IS THE CORE. WHEN DALANG IS ABLE TO MAKE BREATHING, HE MIGHT GET TIRED OF TALKING, BUT THE HANDS ARE HERE SWINGING AND SWINGING. IT IS TEN CENTIMETRES FROM THE HEAD.

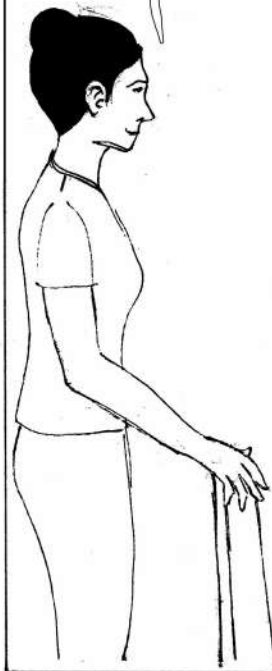
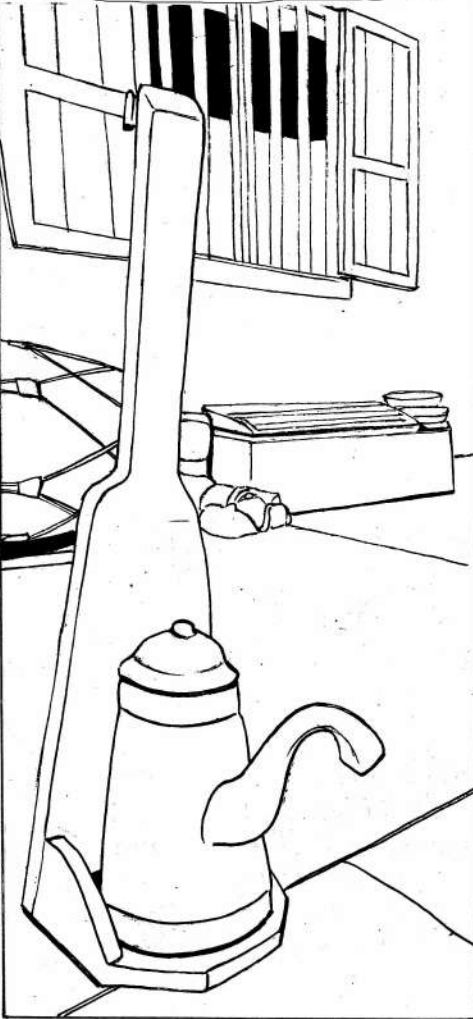
HAVE YOU EVER PLAYED WITH TWO OR MORE DALANG?

NOT YET. IN BANJAR THERE CAN BE A CHANGE OF DALANG, ONE HOUR AND ONE HOUR EACH IS POSSIBLE.

IT'S CALLED INNOVATION, BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN TRIED SO FAR, DALANG ALONE IS STILL GOOD. THE ART EXPLORES, BUT LATER RETURNS TO THE ORIGIN AS LONG AS IT KEEPS THE ART, CARING FOR TRADITION. SOUTH KALIMANTAN ART, WHOSE TRADITION HAS NEVER BEEN PROFITABLE, WHATEVER HAPPENED, STILL STANDS. INNOVATION IS NOT A PROBLEM, BUT IT IS TEMPORARY, IT NEVER CONTINUES.

WHY?

BECAUSE PEOPLE DON'T LIKE IT.



THIS INSTRUMENT OBEYS THE DALANG VOICE, FOLLOWS THE DALANG VOICE.

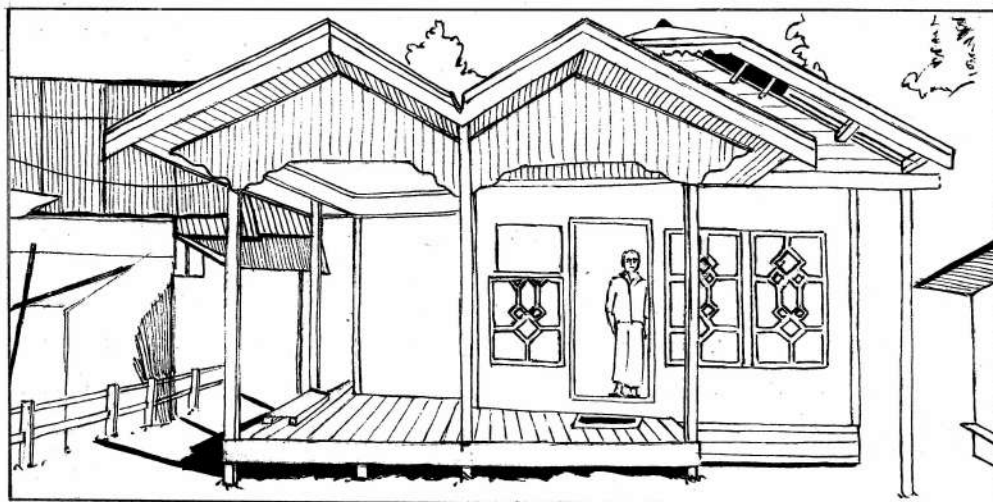
ONLY IF IT IS HANDMADE BY YOURSELF CAN IT MATCH THE SOUND. HIGH OR LOW, IT SHOULD MATCH THE VOICE AND THE RHYTHM. THERE ARE PAKEM AND ALSO STORIES MADE BY YOURSELF, THEN THE SONGS SHOULD BE APPROPRIATE.



We thanked him and his spouse, and moved to the next and last sanggar on our path of visits.



Excerpts of the interview with dalang at sanggar Taruna Jaya in Barikin, Hulu Sungai Selatan, April 24, 2017.



MS. GIULIA FROM ITALY, THE CAPITAL CITY IS ROME. WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO ASK?



WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO ASK?



WELL, I AM OFTEN INTERESTED IN PEOPLE'S LIFE STORY - HOW DID YOU BECOME A DALANG FOR EXAMPLE? HOW DID YOU LEARN IT? WHAT IS THE STORY OF THIS SANGGAR? ARE THERE DESCENDANTS?



YES, ACTUALLY I STARTED TO LOVE WAYANG FROM WHEN I WAS SEVEN YEARS OLD.

AT THAT TIME THIS WAS STILL AN ANCIENT VILLAGE, NO ELECTRICITY, NO ASPHALT, EDUCATION WAS STILL UNTIL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

ONCE THERE WOULD BE A MARRIAGE HERE AND A WAYANG PERFORMANCE. AT THAT TIME THE SENIOR DALANG WAS DALANG TULUR FROM BARIKIN.

WHEN THE TIME OF WAYANG ARRIVED, THE GROUP CAME HERE TO OUR HOUSE, I ASKED MY FATHER WHAT WAS HAPPENING "THE GROUP WILL PLAY WAYANG NEXT DOOR". I WANTED TO SEE IT.

I PLAYED IN AMUNTAI, IN BARABAI, IN THIS AREA, THEN RANTAU, IN THE MOUNTAINS AND I STARTED TO BE WELL PAID. IN 1980 I PARTICIPATED AS GAMESAN PLAYER IN THE TEENAGER DALANG FESTIVAL AT TAMAN BUDAYA IN BANJARMASIN. IN 1993 PAK TRI SUTRISNO RECEIVED THE INDOONESIAN WAYANG HOLDERS FOR THE SIXTH EDITION AT THE JAKARTA PALACE.

AROUND 10 IN THE EVENING I WAS TAKEN TO SEE WAYANG. THAT WAS THE FIRST TIME I HAD THE CHANCE TO SEE WAYANG. I IMMEDIATELY GOT INTERESTED.

THE FOLLOWING DAY, I TOOK SOME PAPER AND DREW A WAYANG PUPPET. FROM THEN ON I NEVER STOPPED. BY 1976-77 I MADE WAYANG KERTAS FROM PAPER.

IN 1978 I PARTICIPATED IN A DALANG FESTIVAL BUT I COULD NOT GET ANY PRIZE. IN 1979 I GOT AN INVITATION TO PLAY WAYANG KERTAS; THE FEE WAS FOUR THOUSAND RUPIAH. THEN TO BATANG BATUNG THE FEE INCREASED TO SIX THOUSAND RUPIAH. BUT THE MONTHLY FEE FOR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL WAS STILL 175 RUPIAH. IN 1980 I TOOK A REGULAR GAMESAN AND WHEN I WAS INVITED I RAISED THE FEE TO TWELVE THOUSAND, UP TO FIFTEEN THOUSAND RUPIAH.

WAYANG COULD BE PLAYED AT HOME OR BEHIND THE HOUSE. WITH FRIENDS WE MADE A STAGE AND STUDIED WAYANG AT NIGHT USING BELINCONG LAMP AND A NOT SO GOOD GAMESAN.



THE PICTURE DATED JULY 20, 1993 IS WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO IN THE STATE PALACE.



THE GOVERNMENT IN INDONESIA ASKED FOR OLD STORIES OF SOUTH KALIMANTAN, BANJAR ORAL LITERATURE. IF I KNOW I SAY; IF I DON'T KNOW, I DON'T.

THE 1995 ONE WAS IN TAMAN BUDAYA.

IN 2010 I PLAYED AT THE MUSEUM IN JAKARTA, WITH FOREIGNERS. WAYANG BANJAR WAS PLAYED.



THIS WAS IN 2006 AT TAMAN MINI INDONESIA INDAH, THE WAYANG BUILDING IN JAKARTA.



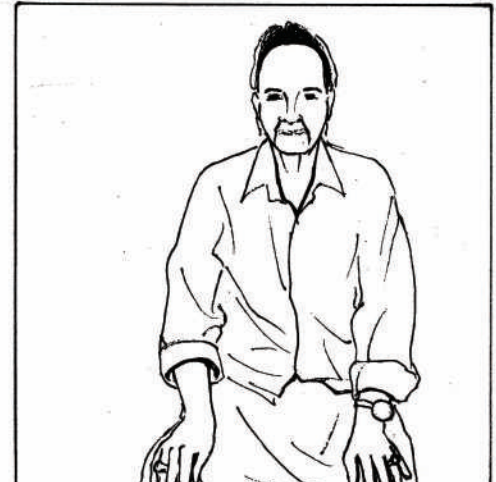
IN THIS I GAVE MY GREETINGS AND THANKS TO THE GOVERNOR IN BANJARMASIN IN 2009, FOR EARNING TWO MILLION AS THE PRICE OF ART.



NOW THE PRICE OF ART IS OF TENS OF MILLIONS AND THE ARTISTS ARE SELECTED BY THE TOURISM OFFICE.



THAT'S A PHOTO OF WHEN I WAS YOUNG.



WHEN I MADE WAYANG FROM PAPERS IN 1977 I GOT SICK FOR TWENTY DAYS. PEOPLE SAID IT WAS COMING FROM THE NEXT WORLD. IT MUST BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS DALANG, AS WAYANG MAKER THROUGH THE BATH, NAMED BADUDUS.

WHAT DID YOU THINK?

YES, BECAUSE I WAS ALREADY SICK, MY LEGS COULD BE PARALYZED.

WHAT KIND OF SICKNESS DID YOU HAVE?

I DIDN'T WANT TO EAT OR DRINK, THEN I FELT LIKE AN APE, SOMEONE WALKING LIKE A MONKEY. THE SICKNESS WAS DUE TO A CONNECTION WITH THE SPIRITS' WORLD. I WAS AROUND SEVENTEEN YEARS OLD.

WHAT IS YOUR RELATION WITH PAK TULUR?

PAK TULUR WAS ACTUALLY LIKE A GRANDFATHER, I'M AN ADOPTED GRANDSON, CUCU ANGKAT. ACTUALLY TULUR'S GRANDFATHER AND MY FATHER WERE ALREADY ONE FAMILY.

IN 1979 HE BATHED ME AS SENIOR DALANG AND I OFFICIALLY BECAME DALANG. THEN I WAS TAKEN TO PLAY WAYANG EVERYWHERE. SO I'M AN ADOPTED GRANDSON DALANG. I WAS BORN IN 1962, BATHED IN 1979, THEN AT SEVENTEEN YEARS OLD.

IT IS A PROMISE FOR BECOMING DALANG.

DO YOU HAVE ANY CHILDREN?

I HAVE A DAUGHTER AND A NIECE. NONE IS DALANG.

We thanked him and we took to the road to return to Banjarmasin.



Excerpts from the interview with dalang Sastra at sanggar Budi Mulya, Lokbinuang, Telaga Langsat, Hulu Sungai Selatan, April 24, 2017.

CONCLUSION

In the previous and last chapter of this thesis, the interviews with people involved in wayang kulit Palembang and wayang kulit Banjar practices were conveyed in comics' form. Among other themes, these interviews show how both these cultural practices are considered as endangered and by whom. The Pepadi and Sena Wangi organizations were and continue to be in charge of coordinating activities in terms of documentation, conservation and development of wayang practices at the local, provincial and national levels. In particular, Sena Wangi – in view of the preparation of the candidature file entitled “Wayang: The Traditional Puppetry and Drama of Indonesia” for the Second Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 2002 – conducted the planned field research for collecting the required data and information, and for the video shooting. The defined areas of the research were Bandung (West Java), Java, Bali, Banjar and Palembang – the last two for wayang Palembang and wayang Banjar as being endangered, thus in need of safeguarding measures.

8. WORK PLAN AND SCHEDULE OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

No	Activity	Apr-02				May-02				Jun-02				Jul-02				Aug-02			
		Week				Week				Week				Week				Week			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1	Preparations																				
	1.1 Meeting to Coordinate Research																				
	1.2 Design and Planning of Research																				
2	Execution																				
	Shooting of Film																				
	2.1 Wayang Golek Sunda																				
	2.3 Wayang Kulit Purwa Jawa																				
	2.5 Wayang Bali																				
	2.7 Wayang Banjar																				
	2.9 Wayang Palembang																				
	2.11 Editing and Dubbing of Film																				
	Research and Written Documentation																				
	2.2 Wayang Golek Sunda																				
	2.4 Wayang Kulit Purwa Jawa																				
	2.6 Wayang Bali																				
	2.8 Wayang Banjar																				
	2.10 Wayang Palembang																				
	2.12 Meeting to Coordinate Draft																				
3	Completion of Candidature File																				
	3.1 Compilation of Research Draft																				
	3.2 Seminar																				
	3.3 Compilation of Final Report																				
4	Preparation of Tentative Lists of masterpieces for future proclamations																				

(from the Activity-Financing Contract between UNESCO and Sena Wangi, dated 2002)

After the Proclamation in 2003, according to the Activity-Financing Contract stipulated between UNESCO and Sena Wangi, the measures consisting of a five-year

action plan to safeguard and revitalize wayang practices would be implemented with the direct involvement of the community/ies. As reported in Sena Wangi's reply in 2004 to UNESCO's Survey on the Follow-up Activities of Proclamation Programme those measures consisted of the development of a younger generation of dalangs and wayang artists; the improvement in frequency and quality of wayang performances; the enactment of regular seminars and meetings; the inscription of wayang artists as members of the Pepadi organization; the realization of promotional activities such as the inclusion of wayang in school curricula, in television and radio broadcasts; the creation of new types of wayang, and performances using simple language easily understandable by audiences.

Sena Wangi and Pepadi in coordination with other institutions sustained and directed the identification and safeguarding of wayang as intangible cultural heritage. In the case of wayang kulit Palembang and wayang kulit Banjar some groups and/or individuals were involved, but the involvement under the label of endangerment seems to serve more as a rhetorical and political tool in the light of UNESCO's requirements. Indeed, notwithstanding the principles defined by UNESCO with regard to the Regulations related to the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 1998, later substituted by the 2003 Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO recognizes the agency of communities, groups and individual stakeholders of intangible cultural heritage; in practice, actually it is the intervention of the organizations and institutions that activates and manages the process of heritagization. In the case of wayang Palembang, the endangerment discourse through UNESCO's recognition and support might have functioned as a tool for awakening a sense of pride and responsibility in Kiagus Wirawan Rusdi and his sanggar Sri Palembang. Moreover, UNESCO's recognition might have "also safeguarded against other countries claiming and copyrighting Indonesian wayang as their nation's own heritage" as reported in Sena Wangi's reply in 2004 to UNESCO's Survey on the Follow-up Activities of Proclamation Programme. However, the concrete outcomes of the implemented measures for safeguarding are confronted with the difficulties of only one sanggar, involving few people not practicing much, as well as the changes of the historical period, thus people's needs and interests.

The case of wayang Banjar is a bit different, since there are various sanggars – especially but not exclusively in Barikin – concerned with it. A large community or extended family of artists, musicians, dancers and puppeteers make it more alive in comparison to wayang Palembang. A sense of sacredness and inviolability of wayang Banjar features in correspondence to people’s expectations but the commission’s requirement, however, seems to restrain innovations; and with the changes of the period few children seem appreciating and willing to learn the art of wayang, thus trainings at sanggar only occur sporadically. Nevertheless, the practitioners I have met have shown various attitudes toward wayang kulit Banjar practices and the possibility of assistance or support from institutions – some sanggar/family are self-sufficient in keeping the wolf from the door. This last consideration, valid here as in Yogyakarta where wayang certainly enjoys much more liveliness, leads back to the premises exposed in the introduction and later developed in Chapter II of this thesis by referring to the “elephant” – the conceptual frame of intangible cultural heritage. It is a concept that might renew ways of looking at contemporary expressions of life, as well as it might help to identify, systematize and represent those expressions. However, the implementation of heritage policies by means of institutions and regulations does not necessarily overlap with individuals’ and groups’ choices, life stories and interrelations.

Generational differences, family ascendancy, surrounding environment, education, individual attitudes and preferences shape the ways of relating to wayang. Having already widely stressed the variety of wayang forms, in space and time, it seems possible to talk in terms of the plurality of wayang as well as the “plurality of Javas” (Hatley et al. 1984). The capacity of “wayang worlds”, to borrow an expression from the influential work of Claire Holt, cannot be anything but flexible and plural. Within it, the intangible cultural heritage process is a very recent form having close ties of continuity with the past, as is the case within Indonesian cultural policies. The various levels of institutionalization certainly increase the influences that heritage policies and discourses have on wayang kulit practice, shaping culture and tourism especially, but a clear and direct relation of cause-effect cannot be drawn since individuals and groups interrelations are the necessary conditions for the practices to be. This is one of the conclusions to be drawn from

this thesis as an outcome of a first-person involvement in the learning experience of wayang kulit. Bodily experience allows knowledge and skills related to wayang kulit's practices and transmissions – often taken as a cultural given to acquire – to be unpacked, that is, experienced, described and analysed.

Wayang kulit – proclaimed a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO since 2003 – was indeed discussed as making and performing practices, and implying the correlation of maker, materials and surroundings. In it, manipulative governmental cultural policies are implicated as well as inter-relational bonds through which practical and ethical knowledge are transmitted and integrated with new individual knowledge, creativity and sensibility as a partial understanding of that world. This thesis does not provide a definite conclusion, but rather many possibilities for further investigations, given the vastness of the themes offered by the work-process of learning wayang kulit, and of understanding the urge to consider the interactive relationship between many aspects and agents involved in the ever changing 'wayang worlds'.

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- Law no. 20/2003, *Sistem Pendidikan Nasional* (National Education System)
- Law no. 32/2004, *Pemerintahan Daerah* (Local Government)
- Law no. 10/2009, *Kepariwisata* (Tourism)
- Law no. 11/2010, *Cagar Budaya* (Cultural Property)
- Law no. 12/2012, *Pendidikan Tinggi* (Higher Education)
- Law no. 13/2012, *Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta* (The Special Status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta).
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- Law no. 24/2013 *Administrasi Kependudukan* (Population Administration)
- Regulation no. 4/2014, *Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Tinggi dan Pengelolaan Perguruan Tinggi* (Implementation and Management of Higher Education)
- Law no. 6/2014, *Desa* (Village)
- Law no. 23/2014, *Desa Wisata* (Tourism Village)
- Law no. 28/2014, *Hak Cipta* (Copyright)
- Regulation no. 4/2015, *Pendirian, Pengurusan dan Pengelolaan, dan Pembubaran Badan Usaha Milik Desa* (Establishment, Management and Dissolution of Village-Owned Enterprises)
- Law no. 13/2016, *Paten* (Patents/Inventions [Traditional Knowledge included])
- Law no. 5/2017, *Pemajuan Kebudayaan* (Cultural Progress)

GLOSSARY

abdi dalem – courtier or royal palace servant

adiluhung – rich in philosophical values

bapak – father, patron, thus Sir, Mr., a title used for men, usually in reference to a man older than the speaker or in a position requiring respect

becak – rickshaw, *pedichab*

bu – abbreviated form of the word *ibu*

bule – foreigner, with lighter skin

campursari – a mixture, or *campur* in Indonesian, of various musical genres and instruments (both Indonesian and Western, like the electronic keyboard)

carangan – stories that do not strictly follow the intrigues of the Mahabharata, Ramayana, or other story cycles, although the set of characters is mostly the same.

cempala – see *keprak*

cergam – from *cerita* (tales) and *gambar* (picture)

dalang – puppeteer, storyteller, singer and musicians' director in a *wayang kulit* performance

dangdut – a popular genre of music in Indonesia

edipeni – of great beauty

gamelan – the musical ensemble that is used to accompany *wayang* performances. Predominantly an orchestra of metal (usually bronze, brass or iron) percussions, a leadership role is taken up by the drum (*kendang*), and the lone bowed string instrument (*rebab*). Vocalists and female soloists (*pesinden*) also are used to accompany it

gender – musical instrument of metal percussion in a *gamelan*. It has a central role in *wayang* performances, playing almost continuously throughout the night, weaving together melodies.

gotong royong – mutual cooperation and support, sociality and reciprocity

gunung – mountain

haji – a Muslim who has been to Mecca as a pilgrim, then gaining respect and social status

ibu – mother, matron, thus Lady, Mrs, a title used for women, usually in reference to a woman older than the speaker or in a position requiring respect

karawitan – Javanese *gamelan* music. *Rawit* refers to something intricate, delicate, detailed, refined

kawi – archaic, literary Javanese; also known as Old Javanese

kayon – also known as *gunungan*, it is the symmetrical, large raindrop-shaped *wayang* figure – elaborately carved and painted – that is used by *dalang* at the beginning and at the end of each *wayang kulit* performance, as well as for any living being or anything crucial happening in the storyline.

kejawen – often translated as “Javanese” or “Javanism” for its close association with people inhabiting the island of Java. Not reducible to one, but rather many, ways of conceiving the world and life, generally *kejawen* is concerned with spiritual self-control, moving toward an internalized harmonization of the universal and the local, the communal and the individual.

kendang – the drum in a *gamelan*

kepercayaan – system of belief

keprak – a single plate (in Yogyakarta) of metal or bronze played by the *dalang* during a *wayang kulit* performance. It is attached by string to a wooden box and the *dalang* plays it with a small mallet (*cempala*) held between the toes of the right foot.

ketoprak – theatrical genre of Java, popular variant of *wayang wong*

Ki – honorific title, often for a *dalang* but also for any respected, educated male figure in a position of spiritual leadership

kotak – the chest of *wayang kulit* puppets

krama – a language level in Javanese, referred to as “high Javanese”

kraton – the sultan’s palace

kroncong – a song form and a music style, inspired by Portuguese instrumentation, featuring a female or male singer, flute, ukulele-like guitar, cello, and string bass

kulit – hide, skin, leather

lakon – stories told and played out in *wayang* performances by the *dalang*. They are not fixed play or script.

ludruk – theatrical genre in East Java with actors on a stage telling stories about everyday life

macapat – poetic forms in modern literary Javanese and its related singing and vocal techniques

mas – literally meaning brother, this is a respectful way of addressing relatively younger men or men of the same age and status, reflecting familiarity

mbak – literally meaning sister, this is a respectful way of addressing relatively younger women or women of the same age and status, reflecting familiarity

ngoko – a language level in Javanese, referred to as “low Javanese”

pak – abbreviated form of the word *bapak*

pakem – standard storylines from the Mahabharata and Ramayana, or other story cycles

panakawan – the jesters (clown-like figures) in *wayang* who accompany virtuous, princely characters. They are Semar (a god exiled to Earth as an advisor), with Gareng, Petruk and Bagong, usually considered the sons; the mother and daughter Limbuk and Cangik; often also Togog and Bilung, two jesters that accompany evil and antagonistic characters. Togog is Semar's older brother.

pancasila – the five foundational principles of the Indonesian state

pedalangan – the study and discipline of being a *dalang*, thus of performing *wayang*

pelog – one of two *gamelan* tunings (the other being *slendro*), made up of seven tones notated with the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Within the *pelog* scale there are three basic modes or *pathet*: *pelog lima*, *pelog nem* and *pelog barang*, and unlike the *slendro* scale, not all tones are present in each mode.

pengrajin – artisans

pesinden – the female singer in a *gamelan*. In a *wayang* performance there are from two to ten *pesinden*, singing as a chorus and taking turns for a solo.

pulung gantung – a coloured fireball in the night sky, which causes some of the inhabitants of Gunungkidul in South Yogyakarta to commit suicide

purwa – first, original, classical, traditional. When referring to *wayang kulit* or *wayang golek*, it is meant as the classical or original style

pusaka – treasure, heirloom

rasa – taste, feeling, intuition, affect, and mood

rebab – a bowed, two-stringed instrument played in the *gamelan*

ruwatan – A spiritual cleansing ceremony through *wayang*

Sang – honorific epithet

sanggar – local traditional school

seni – art

seniman – artist

slendro – one of two *gamelan* tunings (the other being *pelog*), made up of five tones, notated with the numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 6. Within the *slendro* tuning there are three modes or *pathet*: *slendro nem*, *slendro sanga* and *slendro manyura*.

Sri – honorific royal title

suluk – poems sung by the *dalang*. The musical accompaniment is soft and the *wayang* puppets are usually static. There are three types of *sulukan*: *ada-ada*, *pathetan* and *sendhon*.

tatah sungging – *wayang kulit* puppets' carving and colouring

tembang – chant or verse

wahyu – divine emanation or calling to power

wayang – generic reference to either the puppet/object, to the character/figure or to the performance art. *Wayang* here refers specifically to Javanese *wayang kulit*

purwa, a performance art from Central and East Java using flat puppets cut from raw water-buffalo hide (*kulit*), then carved and painted, and which cast shadows. *Purwa* refers to the body of stories told in this art form, based on the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics, as well as other story cycles.

wayang Banjar – *wayang kulit* referred to Banjar area in South Kalimantan

wayang golek – a type of *wayang* using three-dimensional wooden puppets that are manipulated by the *dalang* from below through the use of wooden rods, without involving shadows. It is primarily associated with West Java and Sundanese culture. *Wayang golek purwa* performances, like *wayang kulit purwa*, tell stories from the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics, and other story cycles.

wayang kertas – *wayang* made of paper

wayang kulit – a type of *wayang* using flat puppets cut from raw water-buffalo hide (*kulit*), later carved and painted, which cast shadows. It is usually associated with Central and East Java. *Wayang kulit purwa* refers to the body of stories told in this art form, based on the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics, as well as other story cycles

wayang padat – dense, compact, or packed in format of *wayang* performances developed at ASKI in the 1970s and continuing to develop to this day

wayang Palembang – *wayang kulit* referring to Palembang province in South Sumatra

wayang orang – a form of dance-drama played out in stylized movements by a troupe of actors and dancers on a stage. The *dalang* only direct transitions (using both the *keprak* and *cempala*), narrate and sing short passages, while sitting in the *gamelan*.

wetonan – a person's birthday, which occurs every thirty five days at the confluence of the seven day week in the Gregorian calendar and the five day week in the Javanese calendar

APPENDICES

Speeches, interviews and conversations

1.

Message by the Indonesia's Minister of Culture and Tourism, I Gde Ardika.

Jakarta, March 26, 2004.

"Wayang Indonesia, a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity"

We are thankful that on November 7, 2003, UNESCO has decreed and proclaimed Wayang Indonesia as a "Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity", or a Cultural Masterpiece of the World. World recognition of the art and culture of wayang is indeed an honour for us. It is an achievement of the Indonesian nation about which we feel most proud.

In connection with this cultural award, Wayang Indonesia will be performed at the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris, France, in 21st April 2004. On this auspicious occasion, the Proclamation of UNESCO regarding wayang shall be symbolically presented.

In order to fulfill this opportunity at UNESCO, Sena Wangi (Indonesian National Wayang Secretariat) will present a performance of wayang and receive the Proclamation decree. We support this most valuable cultural activity, and hope that everything may proceed successfully without impediment. Wayang may really become an art and culture of our nation which is capable of improving the image of Indonesia in the eyes of the world.

May the One Supreme God always bless our collaborative efforts.

2.

Welcoming speech of Dr. H. Solichin, General Chairman of Sena Wangi (Indonesian National Wayang Secretariat).

UNESCO, April 21, 2004.

We are thankful and happy that Wayang Indonesia has received the award of UNESCO as a "Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity". The art and culture of wayang is said to be "edipheni and adiluhung" (noble and beautiful). This proclamation of wayang as a cultural masterpiece of humanity will certainly elevate the image of Indonesia, both within Indonesia as well as internationally. Therefore, efforts to preserve, develop and socialize wayang must be increased.

Among the efforts to socialize wayang, we very much welcome the sending of this cultural mission to Europe to take advantage of the opportunity to present performances of wayang at UNESCO, Paris and in other European cities. Having been recognized as a masterpiece, wayang should present artistic work of prime quality.

The sending of wayang cultural missions overseas always has a great significance and utility for the cultural development of our nation as well as that of humanity. In a wayang performance, we not only enjoy a beautiful artistic performance, but also

receive moral messages on the nobility of life. It is this artistic beauty and these moral messages, which we wish to present to the people of the world. We are very much hopeful that this cultural mission may proceed successfully without impediment. May the One Supreme God always bless us in our collaborative efforts.

3.

Address by Mr. Koichiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO on the occasion of the award ceremony for the Indonesian Wayang Puppet Theatre.

UNESCO, April 21, 2004.

Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentleman,

It is a great pleasure to be with you tonight to attend the Indonesian Wayang Puppet Theatre performance, on the occasion of the 169th Executive Board. It is also my honour to present the diploma for the Wayang Puppet Theatre, which was proclaimed as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in November 2003.

I am particularly pleased to hand this diploma to Doktorandus Haji Solichin, Chairman of Sena Wangi, The National Secretariat of the Wayang and Puppetry Arts Organizations.

The Wayang Puppet Theatre, the Indonesian national candidature, was selected by the International Jury with other 27 other candidatures, for the Second Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity last November, only weeks after the historic adoption of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO's General Conference at its 32nd session in October 2003.

I am confident that the success of the Second Proclamation and the adoption of that Convention will give new impetus to the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, which is being recognized by more and more people as a vital factor in the preservation of cultural diversity throughout the world.

The second Proclamation, like the first, recognized cultural spaces and forms of cultural expression that reflect the creativity and diversity of human genius. The Wayang Puppet Theatre is, indeed, an outstanding example of our intangible heritage.

This theatre has flourished for more than a thousands years at the royal courts of Java and Bali. This ancient form of storytelling, which is also at home in rural areas, features finely crafted puppets that are operated by master puppeteers to the accompaniment of vocals, bronze instruments and gamelan drums. The Wayang puppeteer is widely respected not only for his artistic skills, but also for his talents as a sophisticated literary and cultural master. By means of his puppet performance, he is expected to educate and pass on his wealth of philosophical, moral and aesthetic values to the next generation.

UNESCO's recognition of this outstanding form of artistic expression is a reward for the efforts of the Republic of Indonesia to protect this example of the intangible

cultural heritage. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to the work of Sena Wangi, and to compliment the artists for their outstanding work.

Allow me to say in conclusion that I am sure that this evening's performance will be an opportunity for one and all to discover the tremendous value of this superlative example of the world's intangible heritage.

Thank you for your attention.

4.

Interview with Gaura Mancacaritadipura, member of Sena Wangi board team for UNESCO application.

Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII),¹ Jakarta, November 24, 2015.

(The interview was in English language)

Giulia Panfili: To start could be interesting to know more about your life story, thus your background.

Gaura Mancacaritadipura: So originally I'm from Australia, but most of my life is spent in Indonesia. Since the last 38 years, I'm an Indonesian citizen. I studied wayang kulit Surakarta style for eight years in a sanggar tradition school that is just close by here, maybe you can also visit it, if you like. It is just close by here, 2 or 3 km in kampung Makassar. So I studied there and lately I have been involved into Indonesian government doing research for UNESCO's application file for the last 13 years. The first one that we did was for Indonesian wayang. A team from Sena Wangi in which I was involved compiled the file. It was done in 2002 and it was successful in 2003 being inscribed as Masterpiece of Intangible Culture of Humanity and then later on, when that masterpiece program terminated, it was put in the Representative List of Intangible Culture of Humanity in 2008.

GP: What about your interest for wayang? I read that you came to Indonesia very young, still in the High School.

GM: Yes, the first time I come here I was still in High School. We were learning.. we were the first group to learn Indonesian language in High School. Normally they studied German or French, I had to choose, so I studied French and Indonesian, instead of German.

GP: From which city?

GM: Melbourne.

¹ Taman Mini Indonesia Indah is literally translatable into 'Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park'. Established during the New Order by Siti Hartinah, the Suharto's wife, it is a recreational area with Indonesian culture pavilions.

GP: So probably it was the first collaboration between Indonesia and Australia.

GM: Well, geographically Australia and Indonesia are neighbor so naturally, there are exchanges in many wise included culture and language. Usually in Australia, instead of learning European languages, they learn Asian languages like Indonesian, Japanese. I can speak Japanese also. It is more practical. They also learn Mandarin, Thai, Asian languages because is more practical.

GP: So you did learn pedalangan in this sanggar in Jakarta for 8 years. Did you choose the Surakarta style for any reason?

GM: Well, it just happened that I got in touch with the Surakarta style dalang who has this sanggar Kamso Lediwigono, who is already passed away. I studied with him for 8 years. The Surakarta style is probably also the most popular; I mean the most active among all these different styles.

GP: Yes, it seems so, but there are many opinions.

GM: It just seems to me, Surakarta style is pretty active, some of the others wayang, Yogyakarta style is also active, wayang Bali is still going on. There are 60 different styles in all Indonesia, some of them are active, some of them are maintaining and some of them are fighting out to avoid extinction. At that time, in connection with UNESCO nomination, we did a project to save wayang Palembang and wayang Banjar. At that time wayang Palembang just had one dalang and it was elderly and had hard disease so he couldn't perform anymore and wayang Banjar was most the same, but we arrive in order to intervene and we duplicated the puppet and the gamelan and we did some training program so now wayang Palembang is becoming active again and similarly wayang Banjar. So that was quite exciting.

GP: That is interesting, the process for selecting the wayang. What kind of wayang? Indonesia is very huge and many different styles, so it is interesting to know the criteria, if any, for selecting these four styles among sixty.

GM: Actually five, the other one is wayang golek from Sunda. That is also pretty active. Well, because it would be a huge job to research all sixty styles of wayang and the nomination file is of limited number of words, we tried to choose those representing different islands and different kinds of wayang. For example wayang kulit Solo, wayang Bali, wayang banjar, wayang Palembang are all wayang kulit but wayang golek is three-dimensional wooden puppets. Have you seen?

GP: Yes.

GM: So we tried also from different islands, not just only from Java. We tried to these five kind of wayang represented the 60 styles of wayang. So it was just to concentrate and listen, did the research and made the nomination file. We had revise the file and they wanted more information, which we did and sent that off.

GP: It always passes through a selection and it is difficult to include all these cultural forms in Indonesia. Which other difficulties did you encounter during the process to write the UNESCO file?

GM: The language of the nomination form. It was difficult to understand because in UNESCO they work in French, may get it into English but the English version is not always standing in English. They use words which are actually englished French words which are not found in English dictionary so we had to very carefully try to understand what information they were requesting. So that was the difficulties that we encountered not just in the wayang nomination file, but in all the nominations which we did in our last 13 years, trying to understand what actually they want, what is the information they want.

GP: So the difficulties to translate some specific word?

GM: Yes, sometimes even we have to go to the extent of looking at the French version because it is easier to understand. Je parle français un peu, je peux comprendre. It is that the English they use is not always easy to understand, that was the difficulty.

GP: Probably like my English...

GM: Your English is ok. They take French words, if you take French words and just the spelling it may be not the same thing in English, like for example the word *immatériel* in French means intangible in English, but the word immaterial in English means meaningless, not important. You can't just take the word and think that it just means the same thing in another language. It doesn't, it means a different thing.

GP: Even more, there is something that I am wondering about. That is the translation of some words, Indonesian words like *pusaka* or *adhiluhung* or *takbenda*. Can be translatable into English? Sometimes I found this problem too but from Indonesian to English.

GM: Yes, *adhiluhung* is a Javanese word and it means very noble and another word which is *edhipeni* it means very beautiful. Wayang is said to be very *adhiluhung* and *edhipeni*, very noble and very beautiful. These kinds of word sometimes you cannot understand unless you are a *dalang*, unless you are actually doing it and then you can understand what is the meaning.

Takbenda is an Indonesian translation of intangible and that was debated for very long time. I remember once we had a big meeting in the departmental government meeting and everyone was lodged in a hotel and for half of a day we just debated only one word. What is the translation of intangible? Finally after huge discussion, which also involved the language centre of the government that is in charge for the development of the Indonesian language was agree that the best translation is *takbenda*. *Benda* means a material object, *tak* or *tidak* means not, so that means that since that time 2006, *takbenda* is the standard word which is used. Other people would have preferred *non-bendawi* and *tak kasak mater* and all of these, but they

don't. The best one is tak benda for intangible and for tangible is benda, meaning an object.

GP: Why it was chosen as the best one?

GM: Well, it was a long discussion. Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati, who was formally the director of General Culture, proposed that one. She is still alive and she is very a lone person. She proposed this and we had a long discussion and finally that was agreed that's the best alternative.

GP: I don't know which other alternatives were in the table, but sometimes it seems to be a literally translation from English and not really Indonesian word like sometimes I am talking with people and they don't really understand what I supposed to mean saying tak benda. Often with people in the kampung, within some communities I use to work and that is something challenging for me as conceptual term we use. I understand that I cannot use this word.

GM: Most of the people in the government understand this word, maybe ordinary people may not understand it and even the word intangible in English not everyone understand except people who are involved in the culture field or anthropologist they all understand, but ordinary people that is not the word which is in common use. Sometimes you have to maybe use more words to explain that one word and maybe a useful alternative intangible culture is living culture, you can say like *budaya hidup*, living culture that is opposed to sites and building which are dead culture. So this word even UNESCO sometimes use it, this word living culture, because it is easy to understand for ordinary people. And also you can explain the five different domains of intangible cultural heritage means like oral tradition and performing arts, and then customs, rites and festivals and then traditional knowledge of nature and universe and then traditional handcrafts. This is UNESCO idea of intangible cultural heritage and maybe can extended a bit more, some people would like to include cuisine and some other things. If you explain it a bit, then people can understand. But the term intangible tak benda is a technical word, which is understood by people academics and by people who are involved in this field. Ordinary people may not be too much familiar.

GP: Every field of work has specific word that must be explained longer maybe, that is true. So you participated, you wrote the UNESCO application for wayang but also for other kind of cultural forms.

GM: Wayang, kris, angklung, batik and then training in batik culture heritage for students we did that also as a nomination file for best practices and then we did saman from Aceh that is saman dance that is clapping like this. And then after that we did *noken* from Papua that is woven or knotted bag from Papua. And after that we did one on *tenun ikat* Sumba weaving which is not accepted yet. And then we did Taman Mini, which is also not accepted yet. Now half of the world population live in cities and most of the culture does not come from the cities, comes from the countryside so people given up their cultural roots. If you come in the city there is no

space, which is conducted for practicing and transmitting culture. So this Taman Mini which was open 40 years ago is a tempted to safeguard cultural heritage in a urban context. You can go around we provided people go around and see, a little bit. So people, the communities who live in Jakarta they come here, there are 34 provincialities and 20 museums inside here. Thousands people working here, it is a very big operation and the different communities, the different provinces come here and then they practice their music and dance, cultural heritage, their cuisine transmitted to anyone who is interested to learn, so there are 48 sanggar inside here, schools. Dance, Balinese dance, so all this kind of things, any kind of dance from each of the provinces, dance, music, drama. People come here and hang out people from the different provinces and also they bring artists from their provinces to perform here, they have thousands of events every year, including wayang, this is one of the main place where you can see wayang performances, is in Jakarta. A few weeks ago they just had it; they regularly have it. They transmit it to the young generations who live in the city. If you live in the city you just don't get, maybe you get k-pop and Spiderman, that's about it, but local culture, Indonesian culture.. in the other places like this that would die for sure. A lot of organizations is going on, they say that by 2040, 80% of the population will live in cities and you live in a big city also, so you know also, this is like Roma. Maybe you can say Roma is not like the rest of Italia, the big city is not the same is the provinces outside they have more time, they speak to each other, they still do cultural things, but in the city they are just busy working and all they do is watching television and look on internet, that is about it. So this Taman Mini actually the idea is trying to safeguard intangible culture heritage in a urban context and that happened 40 years ago, that idea that is now appearing in organizations like UNESCO, here started 40 years back, it is like amazing they did. Maybe next year be nominated again, getting inscribed.

GP: Is it a nomination also for Intangible Heritage?

GM: Yes, they have traditional houses and artifacts and everything the provinces exhibits, they practice the music, traditional music, traditional dance, traditional cuisine, people can come and hang out there and they can also learn.

GP: Is it a kind of everyday activity, regular activity?

GM: Yes, Taman Mini never close, it's 365 days a year, never close and it's kind, people like it. Also as far a diplomat soon come to Indonesia and want to understand quickly, you can see the all of Indonesia inside here in a single day. Later I will ask to take you around.

GP: I was wondering if does it exist in other countries a project similar to that one of Taman Mini?

GM: Yes, there are some, the ethnographic museums in Vietnam, in Hanoi, they try to do something, it is not as big as this. Some other countries in the world they try it, also some other provinces in Indonesia they made one in Jayapura in Papua, which is presenting the cultural heritage in each of the districts, also in Aceh, in Banda Aceh

they have one do that each of the districts of Aceh they have. Yes, that is an alternative in order to save culture in an urban context. I can imagine what it must be in Roma, everyone running around working, the traffic, all of these things, I have never been but I can imagine. So people, especially, here we get 4 to 5 millions visitors a year all together, 4 to 5 millions visitors a year and the larger sector of visitors is school students and families. So the school students they come here from the school and they go around and see the culture of Indonesia, and teachers ask to write something at least they become aware and a lot of children get involved in learning some dance, some music or some traditional performing art here. Not necessarily from their own province but also from other provinces, so they get the idea that there is unity in diversity, because our country is so.. you can imagine, we have 516 ethnic groups, 746 languages and 13 thousands islands. Indonesia is the most complicated country in the world. They are how they are. How to keep unity between all of these different communities? The way to do it is through culture and appreciating each other culture.

GP: That is a big challenge. They have the motto in Indonesia Unity in Diversity

GM: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, yes.

GP: Do you think this kind of project could be successful for knowing each other island and culture?

GM: I think it has been successful and continue being successful. Well, like 5 millions visitors a year, so it must be something, it must be successful, yes. It's a challenge, the modern world is a challenge, now everyone is totally involved in internet and social media and their all life is there. It is a challenge, but we have carried on successfully. Sena Wangi building that is also over there is also part of Taman Mini complex. Indonesia wayang database is centered over there.

GP: I want to ask if you see or encounter any important differences between the application in 2002 for wayang and the earlier application like for tari saman?

GM: At that time wayang and keris was nominated as Masterpieces of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, there was a nomination form and there were 49 criteria to be fulfilled, so the file was quite thick. The keris nomination file for example was 250 pages, plus the film, 10 minutes film, plus photography and documentation. Now the 2003 UNESCO Convention replaced it, so angklung and the others from angklung on were all done under the 2003 Convention. The form by that time to fill denies 20 pages, there is actually 5 criteria but each criteria has some sub-criteria, so it comes to 20 or 25 sub-criteria that you have to fulfill, but it is not as many as 49 criteria. So now it is somewhat simpler, but not entirely simple because nothing in UNESCO is simple.

GP: How long does it take to compile the application for wayang?

GM: Two or three months maybe, working intensely. But now for the other nomination files which we did later, maybe 1-2 months, but that is working very intensely with a team, not alone.

GP: For wayang was it alone?

GM: No, there was a team, Sena Wangi people.

GP: Why did you choose wayang as the first cultural heritage?

GM: Oh, at that time the deputy minister for culture was Prof. Dr. Sri Hastanto, he is in Solo, he is a professor in ISI Surakarta. So he made a list of 40 kinds of cultural heritages that might be nominated, and he chose wayang first. He used to be one of the board members of Sena Wangi. He is expert on gamelan music. Maybe the top most expert in gamelan music in all Indonesia is Sri Hastanto, he knows so much, he has written books about gamelan music. You should meet him, he is very loyal and also a very very good friend of mine, we work together in so many things. So it was his idea and he asked me personally to be involved in, so with Sena Wangi we made a team and we start doing. Another difficulty in doing a nomination before and now is that if UNESCO, they wants certain kinds of information and certain kinds of actions, they are very particular about this, you can not tell any story you like to tell. It is like for example if you order a pasta and I am in the restaurant, I have the restaurant and you order from me pasta, and I think actually pizza is nicer than pasta so I bring you pizza, would you be happy?

So in drafting these kind of nomination files one of the difficulties is that you have to give UNESCO exactly what they want, even if you slidely wrong or slidely different they will not accept. So this is one of the difficulties in which we encountered. Cultural heritage is something; it is difficult to understand it unless you actually do it. I mean if you really want to understand wayang what I suggest you is to start learning wayang and do it yourself and then you will feel it, see it, ear it and feel it, and taste it and love it. If someone try to look at it from an academic point of view, because there as things inside it that is not possible to be understood simply from an academic point of view although it can be discussed but why something unless you actually do it.

It is like you have a bottle of honey and you try to taste the honey by leaking the bottle, instead of opening the bottle, do you know what I mean?

It is just sit down in front of a wayang screen and you actually do this, you get to feel the puppets, moves the puppets, following the music and everything hang around with musician and the puppeteer and everything, and then you really start having the inside.

GP: This is what I mostly like, but at the same time I think that many people are involved, so I would like to ear many perspectives. Me, myself, for sure, I prefer to practice. I am following ISI Yogya pedhalangan so we are learning how to perform.

GM: You have to give me a card, sometimes they have international wayang festival and I can invite you to perform, even 5 or 10 minutes is something.

GP: I am still at the beginning but I hope that little by little will be possible. It is very complex, it is not just wayang, you should learn dance, music, and vocality.

GM: Ya, somebody wrote a book in English about wayang and they said that it is the most sophisticated form of drama in the world, so complicated, so many things. I can't say that I can understand everything even if I have studied it for 8 years, but something we know but I wouldn't say that I know everything, so many things, you know.

GP: Even the lecturers in ISI Yogya they say that cannot say they know wayang, after 30 years that they practice and teach other people. So what do you feel, what is for you to be a dhalang as you studied and perform it even in the keraton Surakarta, right?

GM: Oh ya, I performed for the kingdom of Surakarta once, ya. Well, wayang actually illustrates life. They say in Javanese for wayang *ngurip* so wayang actually depicts life from the beginning life in growing up and becoming old, like this it is all depicted, you have *pathet nem*, *pathet song*, *pathet manyura* depict these three stage of a person life. The ongoing battle between evil and good, the evil is on the *simpingan kiri* the good is on the *simpingan kanan*. The puppets roll on from the either side of the screen, all of this symbolization is there so. Yes, having been a *dhalang* for a long time you start look life like this as wayang. You see people's character and what in terms of the wayang characters, this person is like this, and this person is like this. I must admit it, the view of life is affected by this, by wayang, and even things like thinking ahead cause you have to when you to set up the puppets, you have to think what is going to be weird what is going to happen, thinking ahead, setting up, you also get this from studying wayang, setting up situations and interactions in the real world, get influenced by having studied wayang, ya definitely.

GP: And what about the conversations, are there also some influences?

GM: Oh ya, *ontowacono*, this dialogue that people got different characters and also have different way of speaking, even very advanced dhalangs they use the voices of each character tuned to the gamelan. And when you have to do 30 or 40 different kind of voices in one evening is not easy, how to make this voice, how to make that voice and so on, it is not simple. And the different languages, the different kind of languages which is spoken by different characters as you know in Javanese there are 5 levels of language, *kromo nanteb*, *kromo inggil*, *kromo madya*, and *ngoko*, so different characters speak using different languages according to the characters, according to who they are speaking to.

GP: And your performance for the sultan of Surakarta was an all nightlong performance?

GM: I performed at the beginning for a short time and then another dhalang took over, I was given a calendar and a flag out some more years and leisure and I was

called by the sultan of Surakarta and royal court and given a name and a title. The sultan of Surakarta gave this to me. So the title is Kanjen Raden Tumenggu and soon as I became citizen I changed my name.

GP: What is the meaning of the name?

GM: *Manca* means overseas countries, *cerita* is puppetry scenarios, *dipura* means in the royal palace, so basically means somebody that came from the overseas and performed wayang in the royal palace. *Gaura* means white. It's *Jawa krama*, old Javanese, *Jawa kuno*, yes.

Most of foreigners who taken interest in wayang they came here for some times and do some studies to get PhD and then they go back, mostly they do not come back, some come back once in a while, but I stayed here, I have been here for 38 years, I didn't go back, once on a while I go back, but most of my life have been here, became citizen, I didn't have any plan to go anywhere. If you study wayang sincerely there is the chance that you fall in love with wayang and is very attractive in many different aspects, visually, the music, the drama, the characters, the speaking and everything, there are so many attractive features, but you have to study a bit in order to appreciate it, it is not a television set where you just turn it on and understand everything instantly. If you understand something you can appreciate more.

GP: Ya, actually for me, until now, the most interesting part of wayang kulit, is that as you also said, it talks about life so probably because I am still young in a certain way I have questions about life and with wayang I can probably learn something. It is more the philosophical aspect of wayang probably that is interesting me but there are many aspects important to investigate also, some more interesting, some others maybe less, but still part of life and wayang kulit also.

So, during the last weekend here in Jakarta I followed the Festival Dalang Bocah and many children from 8 to 12 years old, the oldest 13 probably, and from many different parts of Indonesia and I was surprised because some from outside Java they performed in Surakarta style. As you told Surakarta style is the most popular, but it is even popular in other islands, I mean like Sumatra, and I was wondering if it is like that because they have Javanese origins or maybe because there is no wayang there or maybe because the Surakarta style is the most popular.

GM: Because Surakarta style is the most popular and some of the Surakarta dhalangs are really active like Pak Manteb and Pak Hanom Suroto, and some others, Purbo Asmoro and some others, so they perform in other part of Indonesia as well, Sumatra, that is why it is more popular and Sena Wangi, most of the leaders of Sena Wangi are Surakarta style dhalang themselves, Pak Solichin, Pak Hidocipto, Pak Suparmin, me, so some influences is there. Some of the others like Palembang and Banjar have more influences by Yogya style. You can see from the puppets themselves, from the gamelan, the music they use. Sena Wangi was sensitive when I tried to intervene and try to save these two styles of wayang, they deliberately use Yogyakarta style because it is closer to wayang Palembang and wayang Banjar.

GP: Some people, from Yogyakarta for sure, say that Surakarta style is simpler than the one from Yogyakarta, are you agree or is it just a kind of conflict?

GM: I don't agree, I think both of them are quite sophisticated and complicated, and also their style are combined, Surakarta and Yogyakarta used to be one kingdom and was split because of the Dutch, so there are a lot of similarities between Surakarta and Yogyakarta, and now there has been like interaction and for example goro-goro that is Yogyakarta style, but it is also used in Surakarta wayang and limbungkan that is from Surakarta but is also used in Yogyakarta style now, even Banyumas style that is from the southern part of central Jawa they also use some Banyumas style things as well, even Surakarta style they use something from Banyumas, so the line is not like this you know. No, I don't think that is really a fair comment, I think that both of them are quite sophisticated, there are maybe some differences of course, but both of them are quite sophisticated, in terms of music and also the lakon, these scenarios, I think both of them are quite sophisticated. I like both of them, I performed with Pak Timbul couple of times, I performed first and then he performed, no problem. It is not like a war going on between Surakarta style and Yogyakarta style, both of them appreciated.

GP: About the education, so related to the Festival Dalang Bocah, since wayang kulit entered UNESCO list, the programs for children or even for adults improved and how? And do you think something changed in the way to teach or to transmit knowledge?

GM: Well, part of the nomination file was an action plan to safeguard wayang and especially these 5 kinds of wayang which were in the file, so the action plan actually consisted in preparing teaching materials both in the format of books and in the format of video, and giving some systems to some of these sanggar, some of these traditional schools to teach and then they did. Instead of the file project with 10 sanggar that was increased to 15, they did, they made teaching tutorials, gave some systems to the sanggar for sometimes, they tried to increase the quality of the teachings and also the quantity of the number of people who are learning. I think it had a good effect and was done in since, in other words that was not an effort to try to impose something new or different, rather to transmit what was existing in wayang cultural heritage. So I think it had a good effect, maybe the only which was regrated was that it was only for 15 sanggar, finally if they have more funds they could done it in a bigger scale. Now there is some effort to put wayang into the school curriculum. The fact is that nowadays children if they don't learn something at school, they don't learn it at all, they have no time to go to sanggar and previously people were living in the village, they have time in their hands, but now in the city people have got no time in their hands, even to travel around as you have experienced this morning is not pleasant. So this purpose in order to safeguarding intangible heritage now there is a move not just in Indonesia but also in other countries like China and so on to put intangible heritage into the school curriculum. It was done in the case of batik in Pekalongan, sometimes visit Pekalongan and see the batik city in Indonesia and you can also learn how to make batik, I mean in the museum they have, you can take a little workshop for a couple of hours where you

can learn how to make a batik and you can take it home with you. This was recognized as the best practice by UNESCO because they are facing the situation, the children of today have no time to go and learn informally and no formally in a sanggar, if you put it in the school curriculum as a local content or extra curricular activity then they can use the school time, they can learn something, not all of them become dhalang, at least they can learn to appreciate. What they discovered in Pekalongan was that the children like that, they like to go and learn to make batik, after doing this their achievement in other subjects was improved, because it make them happy and give a sense of achievement, learning English and mathematics and whatever, phisics and chemistry is just a big headache and is not pleasurable, but if you have something that give you pleasure like arts, music or something then become carrega in your achievement in other subjects maybe come better which was deserved in Pekalongan. They did this with batik in Pekalongan, they did it also with angklung in west Jawa, in Banten. Do you know angklung, the musical instrument? So they are trying to do something with the wayang also, making some teaching module or teaching material, otherwise the kids, their brain is full of k-pop and spiderman. Do you like k-pop?

GP: I don't know, what is K-pop?

GM: Korean pop music. It is all over the world, everywhere, it's spread, maybe even in Italia you have. People are crazy for this Korean pop music.

GP: Yes, kids in the bus ear that music.

But in Yogya and probably also in Surakarta, there is an high School SMKI that is specifically for these arts.

GM: Yes, vocational high school. These institutions are actually the source for many dhalangs and musicians and singers, sindhen and wirosworo, ya.

GP: But probably before SMKI there are no official governmental school like SMP or SD.

GM: No

GP: Not, yet, just sanggar.

GM: Yes, so we have that SMKI whose still go on because there where also some people who feel it should shut down, that will be very bad, I feel.

GP: I met some dhalang and some performer from Lombok

GM: *Sasak*

GP: Yes, *sasak*, I have never saw it, even not in youtube, because I have never hear about wayang sasak. They told me that until now the way to learn wayang sasak is by

autodidact. They said that just 5 months ago an official sanggar was opened, but until just learning by autodidact and maybe from generation to generation.

GM: *Wayang sasak*, I would say, is traighthen, it could disappear because well among other things religion fundamentalism and also the governor is not in favor, the governor of that province. In fact was an effort by some Balinese people to safeguard wayang sasak, which is muslim. I mean thay also feel sorry that the culture of Lombok is being traighthen because of lack of interest on behalf of local government who are more tending to religion fundamentalism that is actually a great pity, wayang sasak is very, very interesting kind of wayang and I hope that can make a sanggar, you can mention this to Sena Wangi, maybe they might intervene or give assistance or something. Yes, is really like an appeal battle to safeguard some of these kind of traditional like wayang sasak, some of the others like wayang Surakarta there are still a lot of people who are involved so is not really traighthen, but something like wayang sasak has not too many people left.

GP: Yes, they participate to the festival wayang bocah so probably they have contacts with some people of Sena Wangi, but even like this they say that not so many people there are learning wayang sasak.

Which dalang perform in Paris for the nomination?

GM: Pak Manteb, if I remember correctly, but that was after we got the inscription, it was like the Director General of UNESCO hended out the certificate to Pak Solichin in Paris, it was already you can say inscribed, but he gave the certificate in Paris and they have a wayang performance, they also perform in a couple of other countries, maybe also in another city in France beside Paris. He was Pak Manteb, if I remember correctly.

GP: For sure UNESCO is involved in this process of revitalization of wayang but other organizations like ASEAN, Indonesian Cultural Heritage Society, NGOs, local organizations like Sena Wangi are involved but are they related and how? Do they work together?

GM: Ok, in 2006 we held the first ASEAN Puppets Festival in here in Gedung Wayang and we had delegations from all team ASEAN countries, mean Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, Philippines, Vietnam all of these Asian countries, Malaysia, Myanmar, we had a symposium and at that time we created the ASEAN Puppetry Association which is abbreviated APA and delegates from all the countries signed in front of the Vice-President of Indonesia and we created this association and after that every year we had a festival, of course we had a meeting as well, a seminar to develop and safeguard wayang in ASEAN and every year this festival have been supported by the ASEAN Foundation, an organization created by ASEAN for these kind of activites, but the first one was in Indonesia and then had one in Philippines and one in Singapore, in Malaysia, then in Singapore, maybe the next one might be in Philippines again or Thailand because all the countries in ASEAN got wayang except Brunei Darussalam, they want to have wayang so they may make some Brunei Darussalam wayang, probably like wayang menak which has muslim

stories and so on. So this was created by Sena Wangi, I was the secretary of the committee at that time and after that you know that Union International de la Marionette, I think it was in 2009 we created UNIMA Indonesia, yes the secretary general and the president came down here for that and we also had another event which was quite significant, was in 2012, we had the wayang Summit in Monas, in the middle of the city, we put up this tent. This was the ministry of Education and Culture, especially the Vice-Ministry for Culture I was a personal expert advisor. We put on this huge event in which we had ten thousands of people inside this tent and the vice-president also came. We had 9 different kinds of wayang from Indonesia and 9 different kind of puppetry overseas, including from France, Iran... the most sophisticated puppetry I have ever seen is from Iran. It is just unbelievable, you cannot distinguish whether are the puppets or actually live actors. And all of the puppeteers are all women also, that is amazing really the wayang from Iran. They operate with strings, but very, very sophisticated, they were performing Shakespeare, you know, using the marionettes. I don't know they may have traditional stories from Iran, but they perform Shakespeare, I think that man studied in Italia so he made this really sophisticated marionette, in Italy I know that you have this kind of Opera very grand thing so he did like that, like Opera with puppets, with marionettes. It's hard, it props a loan, the equipment very uses one of container full, so go somewhere and perform overseas is quite expensive and difficult. We had the Vietnam water puppetry, have you ever seen it, in Hanoi? We had them, they perform here in a swimming pool in Taman Mini and in another swimming pool in South Jakarta. That's also amazing, water puppetry.

GP: Yes, puppetry seems to be very common in many countries.

GM: Yes, you have in Sicily.

GP: Yes, in Sicily, but we have also in Napoli and also less known in central Italy. Yes, but the most know is Pupi from Sicily.

I would like to ask this about wayang: it is considered takbenda, intangible, so any projects are learning how to perform but is there any project for making the puppets. Because I am learning also how to make puppets, and I love it, but many complaints because maybe few young people are learning how to make puppets, so I was wandering if this kind of division between benda and takbenda is really fruitful or not.

GM: Well, intangible cultural heritage it also includes objects which are associated with the living heritage or intangible heritage so it is not that you cannot include the objects, and there should be a project to safeguard the making of the puppets because without the puppets you cannot do the wayang. You should ask to the people in Sena Wangi and Pepadi about this, it should do.

GP: The worst problem is about the gapit, the sticks, because there are few few people doing sticks in klaten, they say, for example in Yogya and Surakarta none do that so they buy it in Klaten. And in Yogyakarta daerah istimewa now there is a project now by the local government and it is already at the second edition to teach people how to make wayang. They will learn during one year and then they will work

for the government to teach to kampong people how to make wayang, desa wisata budaya. But I guess it is a specific project in Yogya, but could be great to repeat it in others places.

GM: Formally there was a big demand for wayang puppets, not only for puppeteers, people used to buy them and keep it up in the wall so to collect. But now the interest is less, so the market is less, so you have the effect of people making cheap puppets to sell to the tourists, that makes also less marketable ones who actually make real puppets. That's a problem, need to be tackled, introducing it to the young people is obviously one solution. I think Sena Wangi and Pepadi are the ones who have to handle these other things to safeguard. They used to give puppets to foreigner diplomats as gifts, all of these cultural objects can be used for this, keris also. There is a keris museum here, they have 5 thousands keris, in Taman Mini, Museum pusaka.

GP: About Indonesian law, at the time wayang was inscribed in UNESCO List how was the situation and how since then until now the Indonesian law adapt or changed? I found this paper, it is your speech actually in 2008 and there are mentioned some laws already approved, others drafted.

GM: Oh, I remember this, it was in Hanoi. Well, this was reflecting the situation in 2008, ya and since then the Ministry which handle Culture has been restructured several times, not just once, and they have a director for heritage and cultural diplomacy in the ministry of education and culture which is under the director general for culture and they have a section for intangible cultural heritage whose is supposed to be involved in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage including wayang. Also at that time for 3 years there was a vice-minister for culture and I was a personal expert advisor, those trying to do a lot of things for helping. Intangible law there is a draft law on culture undang-undang kebudayaan, which is for the parliament for the last ten years, still not. Now it might be approved but it is still not. So will say that the effect of UNESCO inscriptions is being positive in the sense that increase public awareness about wayang and the government just been incarriaged in trying to do something, they have sponsored wayang performances, they have also sponsored workshops, they have interacted with organizations like Sena Wangi and Pepadi for meeting and so on. Something has been done which is an indirect result of UNESCO inscription but I think more need to be done. A lot more could be done and a lot need to be done.

GP: About the funding for these projects is UNESCO that participates?

GM: At that time, you are talking about 2006-2007 there was a project of 260 thousand dollars from UNESCO to Safeguard wayang, which was executed. Since then there was no other financial assistance and the government has done something but maybe not enough and mostly Sena Wangi and Pepadi have been getting funding from private company.

5.

Interview with Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati, Indonesian archeologist and historian, the Indonesia's Director-General of Culture in the Ministry of Education and Culture from 1993 to 1999.

Jakarta, July 23, 2016.

(The interview was in Indonesian language - my translation to English)

Giulia Panfili: Madame, could you tell me your life story?

Edi Sedyawati: My biography is very long. The point is that I was attracted to the Javanese culture rather late, actually. I was in high school at that time when I watched wayang orang Ngasti Pandawa from Semarang, whose players were very good, so expressive in playing Arjuna. I became interested in learning to dance. Before I was not so interested since I saw players who were sitting or not expressive. After seeing that I wanted to study, I entered in a group and it was fun because through dancing I finally joined an art mission. Being in a culture mission, at that time I went indeed to India, Russia, Korea, China and Vietnam. It was still in the days of Bung Karno. So that's the story of why I'm interested in it, because I saw a good show, in which the player was so like the role. So that means that if we want our children to like traditional arts, we must give a really good example. Not the amateurs.

GP: What about archeology?

ES: That was on a school vacation at the third grade of junior high school, if I'm not wrong. My parents bring me to visit the temples in Central Java, Prambanan and Borobudur. I was so stiff to see that I wanted to learn about it. So since the junior high school I chose an A major. There are majors A and B: A is for Humanities; B is for Mathematical subjects. At the end, I chose Archeology because my parents invited me to see the temples.

GP: During your studies you found connections between dance and archeology..

ES: Yes, I looked for connections. I made a study of dance reliefs in Prambanan temple. There is a circle above the relief that describes the additions of dance. I wrote about it.

GP: And the thesis about Ganesha?

ES: The one about Ganesha is a dissertation, still a long way off. Previously I had directed the art of dance. Have you seen my dissertation?

GP: Not yet

ES: It needs to be read. I made an innovation internationally, actually. I made a detailed analysis of the features of the statue and then a statistical processing of

those characteristics. It was a novelty for a complete dissertation, thus immediately it was decided to have an English translation. Have you seen?

GP: Not yet

ES: I'll make you give a look later. It was translated and published in the Netherlands by KITLV. I'll give you an example later.

GP: Thanks. In relation to wayang, when UNESCO listed it, you were the General Director of Culture, if I'm not wrong?

ES: Whether at that time or after, I forgot. I was involved in the committee because there was a UNESCO team in Indonesia, now directed by Mr. Ari Frahman. The National Committee for UNESCO is called KNIU. It was through that.

GP: Can you tell how the team worked?

ES: I am not very able to tell you about technicality, but the point is that there is a committee in Indonesia, which is managing memories of the world. At that time we proposed batik, wayang. Of course you have to collect arguments, right? What is the reason for being proposed as a world heritage, right? Well, there was a team in the committee.

GP: Why wayang was first chosen for UNESCO candidature?

ES: It happened because wayang has been widely researched. It has been widely publicized and widely known. And that indeed according to us deserves since it has a set of ideas behind its own phenomenon, right? Tradition is enough resistant but not static, there is development. The arts and technologies have always been developing, there are new plays created by people. It was also a long time ago, wayang was there, there were always versions, new stories were created. Even though at the base of wayang is evident there are criteria, the form of the performance is not so static, it can develop.

GP: So what is UNESCO's mission for? if you can explain. That is for preservation or...

ES: What is named Memory of the World certainly is for preservation, but first is the recognition. Acknowledgment. For that it is indeed nominated as Memory of the World.

6.

Dalang Ki Manteb Soedarsono's speech at Festival Wayang Dunia II.

Solo, November 6, 2016.

(The speech was in Javanese language - translation from Javanese to Indonesian by my friend Dwi; my translation from Indonesian to English)

Assalamualaikum Wr.Wb

Before I speak, I will borrow teachings or thoughts of your mother. If this India has a puppet or not, as far as I know there is. I met Indians, so keep on talking about this Indian puppet character of Bima. So according to my knowledge like the Balinese puppet, the Werkudoro is bigger here. But the form of the Indian puppet Werkudoro was like a Balinese puppet. As the coil does not connect, this is just the chapter on its shape. For the rest I can say because I met someone from India who also had a puppet, but what style apparently I could not say or convey because I had not seen. But if it's a matter of experience, if I say it or tell it and say it might take all night. And that may also not be enough.

I'll just say a little about my anxiety. Namely, on November 7, 2003, wayang was nominated as Masterpiece of the World, because of that I was invited to perform at UNESCO. I was given 5 minutes, even if it could be less. Finally I performed *Dasamuka Gugur* [the death of Dasamuka] in 3 minutes 2 seconds. Then the price was given and brought back to Indonesia. As far as I know wayang is a Masterpiece of world culture. For the hypothesis the date of tomorrow might be a national puppet day, if it's true I feel like not very receptive, and disappointed. After it turned out that I have invited to UNESCO, why should the commemoration be only a National Day? If it's only national coverage, why did I travel to France and also was the nomination accepted? Therefore, to the gentlemen and to the Director of ISI mainly, let's say that the puppet day is still the world puppet day. I do not accept that puppet day is just a national puppet day. I thought Dasamuka must use sabetan, must use suluk, and must use philosophies too, with only 3 minutes 2 seconds. Try to think the truth; my brain seems to be like it will explode. I only practice 3 months. I started from 10 minutes and continued to be shortened 8 minutes and then shortened again to 5 minutes. Until, finally, it was working. Honestly, I feel that it seems like the government really doesn't give money or even thanks. So I feel envious, my envy is like a singer earns 500 million in flowers. Welcoming officials even join the car paraded around the city. Whereas I came home carrying a world charter for puppets, no one kissed at all, and no one had congratulated me or said thank you until now. But it's okay because it has vowed life with an enlightened light. So with my invitation to the ISI, I am very grateful since it looks like my energy is still in need. So there is passion if it turns out that my work is good, if I am.

So from my little input, it looks like the wayang secretariat itself does not commemorate the world puppet day instead of the national puppet day. Why is that? I honestly do not accept it if it is just a national puppet day, because I feel and become involved.

Walaikumsalam Wr.Wb

7.

Interview with Wedana Darmowiguno, wayang kulit maker and abdi dalem, or court servant.

Gendeng, Bantul, DIY, April 25, 2016.

(The interview was conducted with the precious help of Darmowiguno's nephew for simultaneous translation of Javanese language; my translation to English)

Giulia Panfili: I cannot speak Javanese language yet.

Wedana Darmowiguno: No problem.

GP: Is it okay if I record our conversation?

Nephew: Never mind.

GP: Were you at the kraton just before?

WD: Yes, I have just returned from the palace.

GP: What is your duty there?

N: Abdi dalem

WD: I clean wayang puppets.

N: Like those who clean gamelan, like guarding.

GP: Are you at the university?

N: Not yet, school

GP: High school...

N: Third year.

GP: What is that?

N: Diploma from the palace: an appreciation.

GP: Category: tatah sungging. When did you get it?

N: Around two years ago.

WD: I entered the palace in 1940.

GP: From that year until now are you working at the palace?

WD: Yes

GP: Do you still remember the first time you get to know wayang?

C: How did you know wayang for the first time?

WD: In the past there were teachers of carving. Here I joined carving teaching. With time I could do it. It took long time: six years after I could. The teacher came back home, he had three pupils [*anak buah*]: Suprih, Sagio and.. me and my brother also could. Since my brother is dead, it is I.

GP: Does that mean your brother also learned tatah sungging, right?

WD: Yes

GP: Why did you start learning that *sungging*? Because of the family?

WD: My parents passed away, I was alone. I could carve and I was told to go at the Yogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace, from sultan HB IX until now.

GP: That was everyday?

N: Yes.

GP: Making wayang for...

N: There, the kraton. The name is Javanese: *ndalem*.

N: It is individual, some are for gamelan, some are for puppets. He is making puppets, specifically making puppets.

GP: Among the puppets you made, some are still used?

WD: Yes, they are used in the same palace by the *dalang*. But I'm specific for making wayang, carving wayang, according to the sultan's intent.

N: What the sultan requires, he means

GP: If I can keep asking, when the puppet is ready do you usually leave your name or something on it?

WD: Should not. You can't give a name.

GP: Why cannot?

WD: The name cannot be the one of *ndalem*

N: The name of the kraton

WD: There is not my name stamped.

GP: Does it mean that cannot be known who made the puppets?

WD: Cannot. There is the name but of *ndalem* Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono

N: Sri Sultan IX is the most potent.

WD: If in the palace I have a name of the carver.

GP: Before you told me that today you were cleaning puppets

WD: Oh that is on Thursdays, all the servants, *dalang*, puppet makers and I gather.

N: To purify.

GP: How wayang are purified?

WD: At *krasadian* *bangsal* *katadiran*

N: A palace area

GP: But how are purified? Pray... how is the process, if you can explain?

WD: Analyzed if any imperfections

C: Cleaned

8.

Bob's explanation of wayang kulit puppets's making process and its interpretative meaning to a group of tourists visiting the Classical wayang craft shop, near the royal palace.

Yogyakarta, July 16, 2016.

(The explanation was in English)

Bob: Technically how to see the performance is from behind the screen, so we are going to see and show to the audience from the shadow aspects. But basically there are two processes. The first part is when we try to show up the shadow. This is the way we try to explain the secret aspects about life: what is happening in this life, into the inside of the human soul and the inside of the universe soul. And then the second on the audience they have right to see from the other side about coloring, where the coloring is trying to explain about the open side. Open side means the behavior of the human beings. So from these two processes when we can see the performance, there are two different side of the meaning behind. But it is meant when we talk about the shadow, it is not just to show out the beautiful thing, but every decision of the carving means something. Everything that we can see, for example the audience can try to find out the philosophical aspect from the shape all t'sogether. We can see the basic of the form; from the feet it is not the feet of human exact in real life. Short feet and then connected. The connection is the symbol of the balance; so we can live into the nature, tell about the two aspects in nature of masculine and feminine. And then from this is where we can learn more, we can find aspects of other creatures like animals or maybe like trees around us. As well happening something like we are experiencing lot more along the process of harmony. But together with harmony we need also some other aspects that we should understand: where we are standing, where we can feel, where we can show our behavior, where we can show about everything. This is because we are related to the four basic elementary energy of the nature. Right here we can find out all these four elementary energies into the form of the body of puppet like this [circular]. ehm this is not the shape of the human bump because no one has like this, maybe Jennifer Lopez has it ahahah sorry, but this type of the shape is explaining about he four elementary energies of the nature, where everything can find the possibility how to begin. This starts from to the outline, visualizing the energies of the hearth. And then in the second step of the process we try to introduce these motives, right here. This is the symbolic motif of the fire. And then we have others like this, this is the symbol of the earth, the wind and then the last is the symbol of the water, but it can be also the symbol of the society. So from these all four energies then we know how people learn lot more to understand the connection we start explaining about he concept of the flower. There are four flowers here: the idea comes from jasmine flowers, flowers of Java. So from these jasmine flowers we try to recognize the four different types of elements of this nature all-together

connecting to process of the human life. How to get into the basic form the instinct it is heart, and then desire is the fire, respiration our breath it is the wind or air, and then the water is the feeling. But another aspect about these all energies, it can be also explained by guardian angels, because in Java believe the explaining about four twins invisible. Everyone is connecting with the invisible twins, spiritual are women they are sisters, and then male they are brothers. They try to combine all together like this and then try to choose all these energies how to live together as one.

Then we introduce the concept of the heart, that is why they make the symbol of the wind. This is not the wind we use as symbol of the beauty, but of the feeling. It is where for example if you guys try to watch the performance of dancing, some of the dancers are going to show off the way they have the uniform. There are two different curls, small the carving and then second the ornaments, the long curls. This is about the two spiritual aspects that we can learn and pick up the mystery inside us, that are always together with us. It is about scientific aspect and also about emotional aspect.

Right here we saw sensitive emotion because this is the different way of capacity, because sensitive what in Java talk about completion and also about the feeling we have since we were born. But it also grows up following our reality aspect when we grow up as human. And the ornament here, the curl, speaks about the emotion where the emotion is meaning about the control how the human feeling and human soul they also have right. An example: how to say yes and how to say no. When they try to decide about how they feel exactly when they feel out the connection, are they feeling comfortable or not. So they can use their right, how to stay away or how to continue the connection. We need our emotion to control it. And the next aspect do you see the bird? Some people explain it as the symbol of power or beauty, but basically this bird also tries to visualize the four elements of nature. So except earth, fire, wind, and water basically we are also connecting to another from the space, like sun, stars, sky and moon. So like this we are connected to eight elements of the nature. But some parts of the elements work from the spiritual other in connection with mind, where the mind is also representing the physical how to grow, because the light of the sun is giving life, and then the stars try to show up the society, the different aspects of personality, our principles, and then the moon is about life how the connection between the realistic and the nature, spiritual connected to the desire, and sky is about the intuition. Everybody we have right how to decide our future and we have right how to create. But the last part, all these together are connected to the crown. The crown is not about living as a king or living as a queen, but it is the symbol of the higher. We try to learn a lot more about how to feel, how to know and how to understand about harmony. But the concept of the harmony that we talked about, we need something happening in life, where we can think again or we can try to figure out from the basic. It is meant that there are masculine and feminine, harmony means thinking about what is happening at this time, it can be into the sexual, it can be into the orgasm, and then it can be into the love. This is what we call harmony. Because in this way we know the process about the realistic, the human body but this realistic aspect that we meet other it is also the spiritual aspect of the human soul to guide the body to meet each other. So from this connection then there is something important that it takes steps: that is why right here there are steps like this, for the understanding of harmony. When we found

harmony we can connect with the three important powers, human, nature and god as well. That is why we have orgasm, we have love and we have sex. If you guys look here, these two ornaments are the lips of the vagina and this are the ovaris.

The difference of crowns, some people explain the crown is about god, but in some religion they also try to connect to the holy man. in this aspect of Java philosophy actually is for energies. When we already know how to reach harmony, we have to know how to look after the harmony to not get away. This is our process to get higher, like to look after the family.

Then the last part is about the long arms, technically longer arms like this is to make it easier to play, to move. But in Java we also try to combine the philosophical aspects so the people can see the point of view. Long arms like this means affections about holding, because we need to be social, so to understand that we cannot live alone in this life but we need someone else how to survive. So it is why from all these aspects are together try to show out the three standing fingers like you guy see on dancing, they do like this. So sometimes they have for fingers like this, it is about the four guardians that we talk about the four energies before. How to reach these three aspects of instinct, feeling and mind, and this is harmony and love. Maybe induistic you can see in yoga position, about acceptance like this. But in java how to reach this acceptance because we are responsible for harmony and love we need to practice how to feel, to react and think. This finger is the connected to the human heart, as when people marry they put the finger here. But the reason is not because of tradition, but is because the ancestors in this universe they found out the idea this blood goes directly to the heart. That's why sometimes people try to play game, like this.

Actually every color explains about equality, energy of humans. Maybe in this time people are talking about genetics, but long time ago into the spiritual we talk about interrelation. We are coming from different kind of genetics, of capacity and different type of shapes too. But it doesn't mean that what we have inside is different. That's why the color is to explain because long time ago the Java people are confused about how to give different look to this kind of possibility to communicate. It's because there is something equal that is inside us. So how to understand how equalities, then we started explaining the different kind of colors. For example every puppet like this the color means the honesty energy of human. Then there is also the red color is the symbol of the emotions, also for the loyalty aspect of the energy. Then there is green is the symbol of happiness. White is the purity, yellow is justice, black is for principle, green fertility, orange and purple is for transition. Orange is more dominant, is about rationalistic transition. Purple is about the feeling transition. Two different colors, hot and cold colors. The cold color for the transition is because we combine two different capacities of personality that we have at different level, how to behave between women and men. So men are more transferred to rationalistic, women to the emotional. Blue is the symbol of sensitivity and spiritual energy.

Java people are trying to practice about life.

9.

Conversation with pak Arsono, employee at the Department of Industry and Commerce of the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

Dinas Perindustrian dan Perdagangan Provinsi, DIY, October 14, 2016.

(The conversation was in Indonesian language - my translation to English)

This is only a portion of the statistical data. There are two centers of tatah sungging: in Bantul district, in the area of Kasihan Bangunjiwo, Gendeng and in Pucung Imogiri. There are several craftsmen, more or less five hundred carvers and colorers. Then in Gunungkidul, there is also a small group. For the classics, in Bangunjiwo, at pak Sagio's place as well as at pak Sujiyono's place in Pucung Imogiri. At the beginning indeed the puppeteers often ordered wayang to Pucung and there incidentally there was a puppeteer firstly for religious wayang until there is a gamelan called gong Pucung. When hit definitely it will be wayang, will spread the puppet show until it hears far away. It is still stored but not yet entered the museum, at Mr. Sujiyono's place. Previously, a Japanese if I am not mistaken wanted it, because it was antique, the puppets' sticks were not with horn yet like now, but in bamboo. There [in Pucung], in the early days, initially many from kraton gave work then continued to develop into souvenir items for tourism; wayang souvenirs are bought for bringing back to the city. Indeed, each of the puppets have a character, all of them have characters. If we study, all puppet figures have characters and its philosophy. It's better on the field, right there you will find it. Small business investment are valued up to 500 million Rupiah; medium up to 10 billion Rupiah; large from 10 billion Rupiah to above. The craft industry center is a village with the majority of people working in the craft.

10.

Interview with Sadiyah Boonstra, scholar and museum curator.

Jakarta, July 22, 2016.

(The interview was in English)

Giulia Panfili: How do you see Ki Purbo using simultaneous translation?

Sadiyah Boonstra: Have you seen performances by Ki Purbo?

GP: Yes, I have seen it, once without translation and once with: only twice.

SB: How do I feel about it? I think for him it is a really really powerful tool because Kitsie is his mentor, she does translation, she does it very well, it is a powerful skill and I think it is very difficult. And I really admire that, in her work, I think, she is very diligent, she has the knowledge and know how to do that. I feel that is one of the elements of his success. I really feel that way.

GP: Because is a way to be international too?

SB: Yes, and here is always international acclaim and I think that has impact on the way to be perceived, especially because of these translations. She also does it more frequently, at the beginning, when I started my research, she did made it few times a year, but now quite often actually and you know in combination with him, making these references to heritage discourse. He is very smart. He also faced that fame, faced the definition by UNESCO that is the description of wayang as a kind of institutionized by UNESCO. If you compare, if you see him like in a spectrum of dalang in Indonesia, I think I would see him as a kind of conventional dalang, in a way. If he really fit with the discourse about wayang, his approach to wayang and his attention for philosophy and mysticism, Javanese mysticism, I think just fit very well with the Western European ideas of wayang.

What do you want to ask?

GP: I'm always wondering if it is really a Western point of view. Because actually scholars' research about wayang for sure started with the colonial time, but can we say that it is western point of view or rather a syncretic point of view? Actually, in Java especially, there are so many historical layers.

SB: Yes, there are many layers and it is not just Western or European, I mean, it comes from somewhere, so there were the elements of mysticism and philosophy, they have always been there, they still are. What I argued for example in my dissertation is that those elements were emphasized in particular, first wayang was seen as a kind of art by scholars, mainly British and Dutch, not really worried not really valuable, because they were just playing from their memories, not using any musical accompaniment or whatever. The only value that it has due for example Dutch scholars it was that it told them something about the nature of the Javanese which will help the Dutch to maintain the colony. Why it was part of that? Because it was seen as a nature of the Javanese, reflecting the nature of the Javanese. So first they have that. And then they have like the discovery of Hindu-Buddhism of wayang and lots of heritage, sites also in Java were discovered, excavated. So they now see this turning point in the evaluation of wayang it becomes more a kind of high kind art because the discovery of Hindu-Buddhist they though oh so it was part of some kind of idea of more developed culture it has just degenerated. But it also means that if it is just degenerated it could also extinct. So there was this idea ok, so maybe it's a high-kind art, maybe it contains all these elements that can, that are valuable and interesting. What has been really really important was the emergence of Theosophy which had a very approach to like Buddhism, Hinduism, very syncretic kind of approach to religion. So with the emergence of that and also the interest in different cultures and other cultures, that was, that has been really really important in the evaluation of wayang, I think, in the evaluation of this. That really update to a higher level. Now already have become more like a kind of high kind of art and especially like more attention for philosophy and mysticism and made it more ingraspable in a way. How to understand? Because mysticism and philosophy not so much, but mysticism especially very weird for Europeans, very difficult to understand, to grasp the concepts and the meaning of it. Which was then kind of used by Javanese nationalists to develop a national Javanese identity. So you see the kind of interaction between colonial elites and like locals and international inhabits

came into by this and influence each other and this image of wayang emerges. So on the influence of Theosophy I think those elements of mysticism and philosophy have been over emphasized. This has also been other aspects as well like entertainment and jokes and that is why they are so popular, still so because they have to connect to the audience and the dalang have always been really clever in doing that and part of that is to be entertaining, to entertain the audience, to make them laugh like about super jokes and in the early texts, Dutch scholars even say I am not including this jokes because it is not really worth on writing it down. So it is already an evaluation, that we cannot, that is not worth writing down, the other we can write down, but not that. So that's already an evaluation. So that is basically what happened and in the 1920s there it is Mangkunegara he gave a really important speech in Dutch about the meaning of wayang. He was the ruler of the Yogya court and as well involves in almost all the national Javanese nationalist movement at that time. So what he said has a kind of define the understanding of wayang. Wayang is, wayang is supposed to be, contains all these elements of philosophy and mysticism inaccessible to foreigner basicly and also in an attempt to make a nationalist to say this is our culture, and nobody can touch this world, to access.

GP: Yes, that is interesting because actually I'm attending pedalangan course at ISI Yogyakarta and also at the sanggar Habirandha, and it is exactly like this as you said. It is a kind of heritage, it uses the heritage discourse it is important for the humanity and it is a good value and so on, but at the same time there is a kind of...at every meeting, at every course there is a big gap. They don't want to share with me all the knowledge.

SB: They want to keep it to themselves.

GP: And they also think that I could never reach that knowledge. That's true, because you have to be inside the culture...

SB: I don't know, I think that is a very essentialist approach of culture. So in that sense I don't know. Of course nobody experiences culture in the same way farther those for every individual. In that sense I don't really believe that, I feel like, why would you? Of course you wouldn't understand or experience in the same way as they do but it doesn't that sharing mean that is better or worse or whatever. So, in that sense, I feel that is a very essentialist approach of culture.

GP: And what about your dissertation effect, are you going to show it to the dalang that you follow or?

SB: Ya, I already get my book to two of the dalangs that I follow in such a way, with all of them, and I am planning a trip to see Ki Enthus in Tegal and I'm working still a little bit with his manager. We do working on the exhibition and they have been helping me with the exhibition at the British Museum for example. For the visual reality movie I would like to have a performance by Ki Enthus, so iya I'm still in touch with them basicly, which I really like. For them I'm probably just some researcher, so would really effects probably what they are doing although you know, in a way as

well whenever I was working with them, following them to performances they also often included me in the performances and I go up on stage and then they talk about me, I had to sing songs, something like that. So in a way you do, you are a part also want you start to research. So this is also kind of interesting and I do realize that by do that you know by writing about them and it will in a way maybe affect them. But that's also just our I think. But it's good to be aware of that, I would say. In the whole field and I'm sure lots of people even know they might know me, because they know that I do pedhalangan and that is a small world.

GP: In Yogya they always talk about komunitas wayang, wayang komunitas, seems to be a closed community like always the same people supporting each other, going to the show and so on. Do you think is it the same in Solo and is it related to economic status?

SB: Oh, iya, iya iya, of course yes, yes, in many ways. Yes, it's always, you know, Indonesian society, Javanese societies intricate and I think the wayang world in itself also. And there are all these layers of Javanese culture in itself and the steads of dalangs it's always very hierarchical of course. And then where is your place or position in the world is also difficult. It was for me also a challenge doing my research. Because it's very much a world mainly men, it's a really men's world and there were following these dalang and I was obviously quite a bit younger than now. So in one hand it was a kind of, they find it a bit weird 'what is she doing?' They do not really understand my approach, they thought I wanted to learn wayang or pedalangan or I want to become a pesinden. But no, I cannot even sing, you know. So they kind of me, Ki Enthus, he really wants like a kind of accompanying, so I spent most of my time with him, he always let me see his house. I could stay there and, you know, to see how he works. So that was really nice. The other ones, Ki manteb also I stayed for a few weeks at his place and he founded a little bit weird, I think, and Ki Purbo never let me. That also have a little bit to do with I think his... Ya, so there is always, I think it's always like that I mean there are many people who are in any field not everyone is so generous in sharing knowledge or that works as others. So, ya I think that for wayang it's the same. Some are very generous in that sense, others less, and might have this ... I don't know. I'm not sure if it would apply more to the field of wayang or in other fields, because other fields in comparing business is the something not everybody shares, not everybody like to share.

GP: Especially if they are still in the career, there is a lot of competition.

SB: Yes, yes. Also academics not, not so many academics like to share their sources. Yes everybody try to protect her or his own work.

GP: Let me ask you another question, if you don't mind.

SB: Yes, sure

GP: I'm wondering how the museum and their politics, especially in this era in which there is a new approach to the role of the museum in the society, how is in

Indonesia? Is it running like this from your point of view or is it a world completely distant the one of the performance and the one of the museum where the objects are displayed?

SB: I also wrote about that in my dissertation, I'm working on an article right now on how wayang has been put on display on museums in the Netherlands and in the UK. So basically you are asking me two different things, right? About how wayang is being displayed and how museums here functions? What you see is museums have been emerged as repository of materials, remains from the past, so that means that has always been an object. And that is a kind of reflectizing on the way wayang was represented in museums. You see that even in the present day, also in the exhibition that will be, that we were working now at the British Museum. It is very object oriented. It is also part of the nature of the British Museum. They are really really object oriented. So that has advantages and disadvantages. So the advantages is that it give you a chance to really look at the puppets, to see and appreciate the beauty of the encraved puppets, so to appreciate the makers. The disadvantage of it, I think, is that if one is not familiar with the performance tradition, if is not familiar with the sound, with the performance experience or whatever, you wil not get any idea of that. That is completely rendered invisible and inatable as well, so it becomes very static. And what you see is that the discourse about wayang has become very static as well, so there is this idea that wayang is an unchanging thing, that has always being there, in a still form, has not changed over centuries. And that, I think, was being forced by the way which wayang was displayed in museums. So what you see for example in the Tropenmuseum is that they have this wayang puppets world already among the first objects enter the museum. They were ... very randomly, puppets here and there, few here and few there, they were given to the museum. So they have always been there in the collection of the Tropenmuseum and you see in the early 20th century a kind of a display of wayang. So they put some wayang kulit puppets on the screen, which is a kind of, it's supposed to represent a wayang stage. And then they also put like the wax doll in front of it, it's supposed to be the dalang. So they do try to represent or reflex some kind, something of the stage, of the performance practice. Doesn't really look so it's not exactly the same and you see that this display remains unchanged from 1915 until 1950s in the Netherlands. So that's half a century in which people that come to the museum which is a really important museum in the Netherlands see that display of wayang and they think oh so this is wayang. And does look very static, and does look very unlighty and if you decide to go twice, maybe as kid maybe when you are older, it is still there, still unchanged. So it gives a very static image and with the discourse I think that they reinforce each other. And now again UNESCO has institutionalized it, so I don't think we will get ... of it. And that is something that I think is a challenge for museums to show exactly that, to show change, dynamics of a performance practice. And it's not something dead or whatever, because it's not. I don't know if you have been to really big performances but Manteb or ki Enthus they often perform such huge show with thousands of spectators and if you go to those shows and I'm like, it's no way that this is going to extinct, well not during my life time, you know. So I feel that for museums that is a big challenge, challenges to show that and to make the performances tradition like that accessible to a general audience. It doesn't a matter

where it is, if it's in London rather it's here. A lot of people in Jakarta have never seen a wayang; they don't really know what wayang is. So the challenge means the same, I feel.

GP: Do you think that Taman Mini here in Jakarta could be a good, a model of more dynamic museum or you think the approach is still the one of object oriented?

SB: Taman Mini is a very excessive case. I don't know if you are familiar with the history of it. It was Ibu Tien's concept. Suharto's era saw a very 'region approach' to culture so every region has its traditional house, traditional wedding, traditional dance, the traditional song and you didn't have it when it was created. So that is why is represented in Taman Mini. So basically it's a big invention of tradition, I feel, so in that sense I think that is already from a ... itself and I know that they are trying to do things there and for me the problems with those things is also the approach of heritage in Indonesia is less criticality, there is no criticality at all. It's really a celebration of Indonesian culture, which I think is almost everywhere the case I mean. Everywhere heritage use is a celebration of the power or a celebration of certain aspect of a certain culture and it also means that you render alternatives stories invisible or innotable by focusing in those golden elements in culture and heritage. So I think that is a big problem here. So in that sense I would say, given the history of Taman Mini, it's difficult do what you do, the place I get. That could be something for living heritage, they probably do it, they probably developed in that way, but I think that they will never get rid of their ... that it will the same kind of thing, that will be a celebration of maybe some exhisting traditions, but maybe also inventing traditions, inventing dances or whatever. So I can see that, I feel if we go back to the question museum and performance tradition, then I think, what I think for example of museums in here. Lot of museums has wayang collections in here, almost everywhere, you know yourself. Almost in every country there is some kind of wayang collection. Also there was this guy I met at a conference two years ago, he was a curator in some Slovenian museum. They also have wayang. So it's everywhere and Raffles collected the collection of the British Museum. So that's from the early 19th century, that's one of the oldest and bigger collections in Europe. So there are so many of them. They become almost irrelevant by now, because they are just lying there, nobody exactly knows much about them. It's difficult to gain knowledge about these collections as you experienced yourself, so they do ... and I think for Europeans museums then is the challenge to find ways to make them relevant and accessible to the audiences. And I feel form me is really it is about connecting to the present day, to present day communities, present day practices and to try fo find new meaning to collections like that. I feel that is the only wat, for example the collections I work already it's difficult I don't want to get into technical details, but also I understand that I am not interested in those technical aspects, but in a way also to understanding those puppets and collections, if the knowledge it's not with you, what do you do? So you have to involve communities from where they come from and I also feel that is the only way to make the ... again, because it is a form of translation, cultural translation in that sense.

GP: How the museum or a curator can define a collection? Because when I start to research about this wayang puppets in Lisbon, they seems to be they come from different places and probably different period. So I even don't know if it could be defined as collection, if it could be interest of meseum, you know. That's why more than the difficulties to search for information, it was about is this group of objects of any interest or not? Do museum use to display objects as wayang from different places or periods, all together in the same screen; can be said collection even if from different place or period?

SB: Ok, so, usually collections in museums are put together pretty randomly, very randomly. It's usually the case because collections you know museum when started to emerge in the 18th century, they became really institutionized I think 19th century they started to collect stuff, but based on what is available, right? And then also the kind of sources you have to search the puppets or whatever, so that means that collections, history of objects in museums has always been very very random. Like I told you, Tropmuseum for example, they depended to large extent on gift Indonesians from individuals, so that's why they would get one or two puppets and then nobody knew the value of those puppets, because my colleagues at that time at the Tropenmuseum ... for middle East and northern Africa, she after encountered objects and collections and it was like "I don't even know what is this". So that was at the time too, most of the time people don't even exactly know what there was ... how have the knowledge to judge whether there was any ... or not and so end up with a lots of puppets of which we now would say well, that is not of great quality, but ye if you never seen a wayang puppet how would you know? So there is that and then making an exhibition can go many ways because there are many concepts and many stories to tell, so I always think that making exhibition is a way of storytelling in a way. So it depends on what kind of story you want to tell. So for example Taman Mini could also tell that story about what is culture, they could also approach it from a very critical point of view and actually question the way in which they have been found it and pose some question like "how do you do with heritage? How do you do with culture?" instead of trying to define it. So there are always lots of different ways to go about it. So there are also many ways to go about museum collections, how do you want to represent something to the audience? Do you want to represent it as.. you can represent something as a masterpiece, you can make a masterpieces exhibition, what we are going to show now are all the beautiful puppets from Indonesia. That is a bit of the British Museum approach, very object oriented, so it is very about beautiful objects. So the links to work those kinds of these forces also because it is easier to market, easier to sell. It is very difficult to sell a nuanced... critical story, so that is the kind of challenge for curatorial and collection practices. How do you do with it? And that is always, depends on the curator, depends on the museum policy, basically depends on all of that, so it's very, so I cannot give you a straight forward answer to your question I think but...

GP: Yes once again are the people behind the museum that make it.

SB: That's a task for the curator, you know? To think to what kind of story the collections can tell, basically. And that's what I find very interesting about it.

GP: A kind of dalang

SB: In a way, yes, you are a storyteller in a way, yes.

GP: How about the conservation of these objects, I mean especially for wayang kulit we are dealing with the leather, that is a material quite alive, iya? More maybe than other materials and I would like to ask you two questions: one about the museum, how do you or other people care about this wayang kulit and if they probably ask to some Indonesian keeper, like pusaka keeper. And then if during your research you also deal with some artisans or craftsmen that used to do the wayang puppets for the dalang that you followed?

SB: Well, that's always interesting to see also the differences or the... How to say it? Actually a clash of two worlds between the performance traditions and museum practices. A really nice example is when in 2008 there was an exhibition of Ki Enthus in the Tropenmuseum on his puppets and on his innovations in puppet designs. They also scheduled two performances with him in the Tropenmuseum, but first the exhibition was open a few months before that. So Ki Enthus also came and we gave a short demonstration about wayang. So he played a little bit, he is really skilled. He is a very virtuous dalang, really really great. So he was showing some of his movements and often involved throwing the puppets here and there, so not careful in a way. Then the exhibition opened with him giving the puppet that he just throw through the air to the curator who was wearing white gloves. That's a very typical example of what happens when you transfer objects from a performance context into the museum. It is a completely different context. I always find that really interesting because in a form the dalang store the puppets carefully, very carefully I would say, they really do take care of them, they air them every – I don't know how often –, but give quite a lot of care, especially in those climate, to keep them well and in a good condition. You see that everywhere. So they definitely have to make an effort to, they know what is good and how to keep the puppets in a good condition.

GP: Is it similar to the way the puppeteers keep the wayang in their house, in their kotak?

SB: Well, it's different. The puppeteers would keep the puppets in a kotak, right? Then they would also air them; otherwise they would get a mould. The museum is different again: I have seen different practices. In the Tropenmuseum, the wayang puppets used to be lay down, sometimes stuck one on the top of the other, but prefer they not, so would be each put in a bar the one next to another. So that is what usually happens. But I have also seen, I'm not into the technical because it's a different department, they actually know, they can stick enough to see it, but there are ... take care of it. So at the British Museum was interesting to see that they have to think about how to restore the puppets. So it's not immediately clear. That's also because they are not familiar with this type of material or that kind of things, what to do with it. So yes it's just interesting to see that museum practices are really different from performance practices, also because performance practice is about

something alive. The dalang, who should be able to use his puppets, is also concerned with: Does that puppet feel well in my hand? Can I move it easily? In the museums they often don't know how to handle with a puppet, they don't have that knowledge. In the British Museum one of our team is also a dalang so he would know, but the curator, a specialist, didn't know, that is why he asks to my other colleague to also co-curate the exhibition, because he doesn't have that knowledge. The museum practices in that sense need to look for knowledge outside as well, I feel.

GP: I think we need to work in equipe. I mean until now especially western academy and scientific approach, we divided and separated all the disciplines. Maybe now we are realizing should work and research in an equipe, in a group.

SB: Yes, I don't know. Not everybody shares that opinion I think. I don't know if you talked to other people, but I'm not sure if everybody shares that opinion, but it would be interesting to see. Especially when you go for museums inside Indonesia, it's still about representing culture. How do you represent a culture? How do you represent values and express them through a cultural form? In a respectful way, that is a kind of engagement with people who are represented. I think that is very important, but it is also very very difficult and I think that it's even more difficult for museums abroad. So museums have wayang collections. How do you represent that? For a European or international audience, well, at the same time you do justice to the culture from which the objects come from, to those people. And I think that is a challenge, that is also makes the most interesting part, I think, because there is not just one solution, you can find many ways. I do think that the basis of something is always regardless of what story you want to tell, you have to think about what am I showing, to who, to what purpose and how the way to do that, I mean in a respectful way to the culture itself and the people that share the same culture, even in other places of the world.

GP: Did you make curatorial studies?

SB: Yes, curatorial studies, in Amsterdam.

GP: Do you think there is a connection between UNESCO's lists of world cultural expressions with the museums? Do you think we can consider UNESCO as a utopian museum of practices, objects included?

SB: I'm not sure if I understood. So, how I see UNESCO?

GP: Well, I am wondering if we can think and consider UNESCO and heritage discourse as a museum, as a place where cultural practices from all around the world are displayed?

SB: I can understand what you mean. I think in a way that UNESCO's concept of heritage is so fluid, it's changing all the time in UNESCO discourse. So universal heritage has to become more inclusive, the developing concept of intangible

heritage to become more inclusive of cultures, of countries that do not own lots of material remains from the past, but do have practices and traditions, you know that. They stray to that ideal, but in practice it is very limited, very limited, because UNESCO is a UN organization so that means that they work through the Nation States. So the Nation States are their platform and the Nation-States use UNESCO to achieve their local, domestic goals and achievements. So whatever happens whatever is missed for example to UNESCO for the list of Intangible Heritage is a result of power politics at home. So it is not representative, at all, I would say. It is all very very political, so in that sense, I conquer with the ideals of UNESCO and in practice is almost impossible to achieve that truth, the structure of the UN, because it is based on the Nation States. You cannot escape it. So for example in the case of wayang in the case of Indonesia, why was the first cultural expression to be proclaimed UNESCO masterpiece? You know that. And after that, batik and then kris: all Javanese, all Javanese cultural expressions, very prominent always been, again on the influence of the historical antiequal power relation between the colonial oppressor and the local elites. We just now recognized among the international level, now is Indonesian heritage, how Indonesia and Javanese. And what does it mean to people of Papua or Sulawesi or wherever? So I found it quite problematic, because it's political and now you see they are also trying to incorporate other stuff, on other islands. But in essence I really see UNESCO as a way for, is used, basically is used by Nation States for local domestic goals. So that makes it difficult and UNESCO is not critical enough in dealing with that. I do think they know that, they must know it, it's also difficult to deal with it. But since my case was wayang, and I see the document that was submitted to UNESCO and I was just, I was not so impressed by the document that was submitted, that also requires a selection. How do you represent wayang, how do you describe, what is the universal value, what is your need, how can you meet all those criteria. So you already make a selection and there are 200 different kinds of wayang, they only describe 5, it mean that you excluded so many forms. Now they institutionalized in UNESCO and then in the next 50 years people think that there are only 5 forms of wayang. That's how goes basically. And that is a story that is done here oftenly. In that sense I understand the ideals of UNESCO, I applaude them, but I'm very critical about, you know, the way that actually works.

The case of Sena Wangi and Pepadi for example, it's just really really interesting to also see, and I also describe that it in my dissertation, but they were founded during Suharto and then Suharto was already very busy with imposing this rigid idea about Indonesian culture, what culture was, what it should be. Also he established ethical codes for the dalang, so basically what he was doing was controlling the dalang. First of all I have seen, I read about how – I don't know if you are familiar with it, for example like the 1965. The 80% of the dalang was murdered during that time. So that means that only one of five survive, one of five. They had to submit a storylines before they were allowed to play. Many of them were not allowed to play, so I see the foundations of these organizations Pepadi and Sena Wangi as an attempt to control dalang and in a way they still do that. Many people in the boards of these organizations have ties to Suharto regime. Most of them were the new modern elites, and now still in the board of Sena Wangi and Pepadi, so they function as

broaker. So they are the ones who ... for abroad, somebody wants a performance there, they are the ones who then suggests a dalang. If you are a dalang and not in line with their approach of wayang... So it is also really really political. So in that sense, in that sense I just see culture as really political and you should always stay through a found. It's not just what you see people culture, so in a sense it's so nice, look culture, heritage and what a nice traditional dance, what a nice traditional this or that...and then I think there is a lot of trouble behind it, you don't see it, but it is there, is there, is very real. So for me that is just the interesting part in it.

GP: There is another big question about wayang, about the tension between the traditional, what is considered traditional wayang and the contemporary wayang. So seems to be that many dalang that are in the contemporary wayang are not part of, are not member of Sena Wangi. And then I guess it is decision of both. Maybe new, younger dalang, maybe more critical doesn't want to be part of these organizations, at the same time...

SB: It has become possible, the first during Suharto, was almost not possible. If you were not member it was harder to get invitations for performances and something like that, so. Now it's more open, so there is a possibility. So that's actually quite nice actually. Ki Enthus also, for his first show abroad, at the Tokyo Museum, he arranged it by himself, not through Pepadi and Sena Wangi. He was really critical. I think they are becoming less relevant, but then you get to look at and they are the ones who prepare the documents for UNESCO. So in that sense they still have lots of political power.

GP: They always say that they are independent organizations, I mean not governmental. Like they have private sponsors I guess, yes?

SB: Their offices are in Taman Mini, so that's Ibu Tien ground. They don't have a lot of money I think, that's true. But they do that by private sponsors, this I know. No government support I think.

GP: I have met with Gaura Mancacarita.

SB: I have never met him actually. He was involved in?

GP: He shared a lot of information about the procedure. We were talking about the power of kris, not of the object itself, more about the status. He said me that there are so many private organizations like lobby with a lot of power, in Europe we can call it like massonery group. I think these organizations have a very strong network, so that's how they...

SB: And that's because there are still many New Order people in the board so they have huge and very powerful network.

GP: What do you think for the future? When we are talking about the past, about storytelling, about the rediscovering, for sure for a projection to the future. And as

curator and independent researcher how do you see the projection for museums, there is a meeting point of many perspectives?

SB: in regard to museums, like I told you, I think the challenge is there, how to make these collections relevant for the audience, I see lot of opportunities. There are many ways to give new meanings to collections, I mean here or in Europe, to wayang collections, you can do it through the involvement of dalang who would have the knowledge to identify the puppets and define it. Know from which period and from which region they are, to make those collections, to connect them to audience in Europe, to international audience I think. I think it would be interesting to experiment with curatorial methodologies to combine performing arts, I think mainly with performing art to see how they work in interaction with collections like that for new meanings, visual art as well, any whatever. Find new ways of ... meanings, open up a dialogue with those collections. And then connect to communities here as well. So I think there are a lot of opportunities in that sense, but then there are always limitations of the museum patterns, that are often fundings, logistics and things like that, so that is not easy but I think that could be interesting.

That's why I think whatever you represent you have to think to who, why are we doing this and how are we doing this. Preferably work as much as possible with communities from where that culture is from. So only then you can find ways in which for example if you would display wayang from Java, why not involve dalang in the creation of the exhibition like that? It's difficult; I mean, at the end we also do that at the British Museum, so I have contact with dalangs so I try to ask them for informations, etcetera. And it is not an easy task. So I understand it, but it is the only way to make sure that you are telling a story that they also feel part of and in which they can also recognize. For me that is really the way for the future, for museum collections. For performance traditions, I think it will find ways itself to develop. I mean they are all so creative and for them commerce has become really really important they become very creative in that sense as well. And then you see lots of other initiatives as well; also in Yogya I think they have wayang kontemporer and things like that, so I'm not really worried about that.

GP: How did you arrive to wayang?

SB: I was involved in a research program with another PhD and staff, and it was a project on cultural heritage in the context of Dutch and history. And I was working on intangible heritage, so we talked about that period of time and intangible heritage that is wayang, it cannot be anything else, so it was wayang. Before at the Tropenmuseum I worked also with wayang, because of a collection of few hundreds of puppets that I have documented and registered in the museum system. Just has to be. An then it was just been proclaimed as UNESCO Masterpiece and then at that time the concept of intangible heritage was still pretty new, yes was still quite new at that time and nobody actually knew what it was, what it entails and I found it could be interesting. It was really interesting to see how wayang was constructed as heritage and how dalang actually you know ... wayang heritage and the dalang is the career in the heritage, the person of fire of the heritage, how does he gave it. And

has been really really, yes has been a wonderful research basically. Very special I would say. It was lifetime experience, lifetime chance; I'm really grateful with that. I'm really interested in the dynamics of culture basically: codification of wayang, that part of the institutionalization of wayang, construction of heritage. Maybe you find it interesting. When was the last time you saw wayang performance? – this was like my favorite question. And then it was like, I can't remember, maybe when I was in High School. Ok, that's nice, so you are making policies, you are 50–60 and the last time you have seen a wayang was what, four decades ago? It's an ideal. They have an ideal image of wayang, it's already cheating, and that's really really reflected in the document that was submitted to UNESCO and accepted by UNESCO.

11.

Interview with Clementina Kura-Kura and Damián Bojorque, pedalangan ISI Yogyakarta students and puppeteers.

Kowen, Tembi, DIY, July 15, 2016.

(The interview was in Spanish – my translation to English)

Giulia Panfili: Tell me a little about how did you arrive in Indonesia, which was your route, which reasons pushed you to study wayang kulit, why did you choose wayang kulit among many arts.

Clementina Kura-Kura: Well, there are two different routes for each one, I came for a reason, the world took me here, so life took me here, by chance a little. Since I am fifteen years old I was in an amateur theater group and I worked as an actress and director, at the same time I always liked puppets, also informally with friends we made a puppet group to work on education and gender issues through puppets. Four years ago several things in my life took me here. I worked in the same place for long time, many years in impersonal projects at artistic level especially, but I had a job, stability and it was hard to change. On the other hand I started to get more serious with puppets, I started to collaborate with a professional group of puppets and learn the glove puppet technique by placing myself in one of their projects. At the same time in the amateur theater group in which I was, a friend in love with India who staged the Mahabharata two years before wanted to stage the Ramayana and told me 'I have the impression that in this work there would have to be the puppets and as I know that you like I would like to collaborate and that you take care of the visual part the puppets of the show'. And as I was eager to do stuff with puppets, I got a sweet version of Ramayana and after I read Ramayana I said him: 'This work inspires me shadows, I don't know how well, but we can work with shadows. Maybe we can make giant puppets when demons and bad characters appear.' So we started working and once I saw someone using overhead projector and we all started working with overhead projector and shadow clippings. It was my first contact with the Ramayana, from the India's versión, starring in a theater. The chance to go to Indonesia, a country that I had not fled even in my life, appeared. To spend a year in another country of the world could be good for me, then I applied for the scholarship. Coincidentally on the list there were puppets, then I asked the scholarship for studying puppets. I began to do some re-investigation on shadows of

the Ramayana characters and coincidences of life very peculiar puppets from Indonesia always came out. In other words, it was all like a coincidence. At the time I was accepted for the Indonesian scholarship, I already knew I would go to Indonesia for studying those puppets so fascinating on a physical level. Obviously what I found when he came here had nothing to do with what I could have imagined. Because I came to study shadows, here I found something else, but yes a bunch of coincidences brought me here. I don't know, coincidences that fit very well in my life and took me here to study this, that it was what I wanted.

GP: What did you find here different from your expectations?

CKK: They took us the first time to see the classes where we would go to study at ISI Solo and it was an amazing class full of instruments on the ground that I never saw in my life. There were three screens, three *kelir*, and those screens were at the bottom of the class, against the wall. I was fascinated 'How can we learn about the shadows if the screens are against the wall? How are we going to see the shadows?' I started going to class and watching a performance for the first time I discovered that the shadows, which initially interested me, have gone down in history. It was a great surprise to find that here the shadows lost importance, the other part of the screen to be valued.

Damián Bojorque: With me it's like much simpler. Elena brought me. Nothing, I had no idea what the wayang was. I did theater for several years and at a festival in Indonesia in Jakarta three years ago I had seen very little, it had not even caught my attention and I did not have much opportunity during the festival to see the wayang. The following year, in another festival where I met Elena, I had time and possibility in the festival to sit and see what a wayang was. Well, I had her next to me helping and telling me something. It caught a bit more my attention. What I was learning, well seduced me a little more than what you can perceive only by appreciating only aesthetic and visual, understanding absolutely nothing, right? Well, after we knew each other and actually I came here for her. She is the one who chained me, like the ones that are tending and tending the story til concretizing it and well I ended up asking for the scholarship to study wayang.

GP: As you also studied in Solo (Surakarta) for one year, and one year here in Yogyakarta, did you find any differences, in the style, the teaching?

CKK: First of all, be clear that in Yogya I only attended classes at the beginning of the first semester, I did not stay all year as in Solo. Since in Solo I had the scholarship and I felt responsible for attending classes, I did it from the beginning to the final. On the other hand, in Yogya I did it a bit out of personal interest, to accompany Damián and I did it only at the beginning. I had already known a little Yogya, because being in Solo I had gone to pedalangan faculty in Yogya and from the beginning it already seemed a little different to me. Coming here to live and study I realized that the approach is very different and I was a little dazzled, especially at the beginning. Later I saw that it was not so different, only in some things, which seemed more important to me. First of all, it seems to me that the type of students that attends in Solo and

the type of students in Yogya have different profiles and that does a lot. My companions in Solo, just as here, they were boys, I only had boys as companions, here in Yogya in fact they were also boys. But basically in Solo the most were boys who either came from the dalang family or were already practicing being dalang, as apprentices or doing their first steps. But they were people who took a puppet and knew how to manipulate it. So that was very different, especially for who came from outside, that for the first time hear a music never heard before; some movements that for us did not make sense, but that obviously for all other young people they did. Then the rhythm was much faster and, since there was no explicit interest that we ended up having the same level as the other boys, we immediately fell apart. In other words, we couldn't keep up with the rhythm. On the other hand, in Yogya, even if there are guys who play dalang, who are familiar with it, not everyone has this background. Thus, there is a rhythm of much more explanation, much more tranquility, also perhaps due to the need for a little more pedagogy in some sessions. That is to say, what I was seeing in Solo was a dalang showing a scene and some movements – a choreography, I called it a choreography, because he was making music. After that it was the turn of the students to repeat. Repeat it, having seen it once or a lot of times, because of course every time someone repeat it, the last have seen it many times. But it was a phase of seeing and repeating. On the other hand, in Yogya I did see that there was perhaps a little more pedagogical approach to practicing the voice, putting ourselves in different places in a room, walking with a puppet to understand how a puppet walks in relation to how a person walks, explain each movement or training yourself in a Javanese text that has many words that no one understands. That was for me, especially at the beginning, a very important difference. Although as time went by, it was clear that it was necessary to move fast and it was lost a little, moving immediately to the repetition, to simply practice the stipulated scenes. But at the beginning at least it was different.

GP: And for you, as an actor, how was this practice of acting with puppets, transferring perhaps what you do with your body to other objects?

DB: I don't find it particularly different from other manipulations; what changes is the technique. The use of energy, of dissociation, this is put as much in the manipulation of a wayang as in the manipulation of a doll puppet, of other puppets. In other words, the exercise of the dissociation of the voice, of the handling of energy is a practice, something that both a dalang and a puppeteer must master. I don't notice it differently. What is different is the technique, simply that, learning another technique and that was what was new to me. Yes, learning a new technique, the other was known.

GP: Therefore had you already manipulated puppets?

DB: yes, not much, but yes.

There must be and there is an ideal measure of wayang for better handling, as there is an ideal measure for a glove puppet. If a glove puppet, exceeding the 50-60 centimeters it becomes difficult. It depends on the hand of the puppeteer, the extension of his forearm and the rest, but of course there are ideal measures, the

smaller the more difficult to manipulate, and the bigger too. That is, the ideal average, when you get bigger you will have a difficulty, when you get smaller you will have another, almost a rule.

CKK: I don't know how it was, but we are working now with some puppets that are ... we are suffering ... those puppets are actually sold for tourists especially, even if they have ... they also have them, they call them 'the hand size', because they have more or minus the size of a hand and we're working with that. And I think it was the other day that we went to Charlotte's house that we had a standard size puppet and suddenly it was like ... ah!

DB: Everything is easier.

CKK: The sticks were not made of wood, they were made of buffalo horn, that is to say, many things that you don't realize. You are working with those little ones because they are good for the size of our kelir and suddenly, we did not take a standard size puppet at the best for two months, and taking it and it was like ah!

DB: Yes, it works alone

CKK: It is not only the size; there are other elements, of quality. For our story, which is a story of neither the Ramayana nor the Mahabharata, we took the encyclopedia of the wayang and we looked for what we could use for pinch, so we requested puppets of the characters that we needed, in that 'hand size'. Since normally the ones they have available to sell are the traditional ones for tourists, we looked for the specific characters. We wanted to paint them black to create good shade.

GP: So don't they sell it like that in black?

CKK: No, they are painted like the traditional ones with many colors and golds, but smaller. We bought those without painting and we made it a layer of black.

GP: And that group, what's the name?

CKK: That name that nobody can pronounce...

DB: Gnaaaooo... gnaooww...

CKK: Gnayaw, Gnayaw Puppets

GP: Gnayaw. It is thought as the reverse of wayang...

CKK: In fact it emerged after one night brainstorming, about how could be called the new group that Victor, the boy from Mexico, and I were creating. We put a lot of names on the table and, even though none of us is from Indonesia, we were clear that the name must have some reference to Indonesia, Java or any cultural aspect

that at the moment was joining us. I was studying puppetry, while Victor was studying music composition, both at ISI Solo at that time. Then we became more familiar with the music and the puppet show, even if at that time we didn't know in which direction we were going to work. It was clear anyway that there would be influence from what we were living at the moment. It was clear also that we were not going to do traditional wayang. The idea of reversing the name came out not in the way that we are going to turn over the wayang. Rather symbolically, there is simply an influence. We will not do the same as they are doing here, for many reasons, first because it is not an aspiration nor possible, to arrive and in half a year to expect to do what the dalang do all their life. It is like a little homage and recognition of where we are, but also making it clear that our aspiration was not to do exactly the same.

GP: What did you found in wayang that was transforming? Why did it influence your way of making art? In other words, in terms of contents, manipulation technique characters or stories that you found here, what are the aspects that leave mark a little? Now that you are near to go, what are the things that will leave a mark in you as man, woman and artists?

DB: Well, I think that it will be reflected later, possibly in what there will be, I do not think that so recently I can speak of a concrete influence of the wayang, of this experience. I do like or discovered in the wayang the dramatic structure, to put it that way, the structure of its stories or the show itself, its form. Because when I met wayang, I discovered wayang, I was reading a story that I like very much and that I think that in the theater, where I come from, I think that there is no way to represent an epic story. It would be absurd to stage an epic story, there is no theater way to represent it, there is no way. No producer would be so crazy to put together something for an epic story on a stage. And when I saw the wayang I was reading this story that is an epic story and it was like the combo, seeing that and I was reading this novel ... that's the only language, at least according to what I feel or what I discovered at that time, the only language that can represent an epic story. And well, that was the first impact when seeing, discovering the wayang. Well, more the cinema that do it permanently, but in a stage show alone, I think that only the wayang can represent it. And another totally different thing that I like very much and that I discovered here in Indonesia and that I think is going to cost me something, that modified me a little, and that is going to cost me in the rest of my production and the more, is that they have, naturally or indivisible in their vision I think, live music. I have not seen anything here, from the dance, the theater, the wayang, whatever they do, live music is part of the show, it is indivisible. I think they can't get it to be otherwise. And then now it seems to me, if I think about the future, it seems pathetic to me to be in a theater scene and pressing 'play,' right? For the scene, I want to have my band playing the music. Yes, let's see, how I lived all that, yes it is a unity, it is lived as a unity, and we have it totally separate, right? and comfortable, that is, well we record, we go one day in the studio, we record the music we need and then we carry the pendrive and pic play... and now it seems pathetic to me.

CKK: I come, I start from something different from Damián, music is also an element that has caught my attention and that I take with me. What I take with me most, clearly because I am more on the visual artistic part, clearly is the aesthetics. I have been fascinated by the aesthetics produced by the emptiness in the bodies; therefore those detailed drafts with so many motifs, and the shadows they produce. In other words, even though the shadows are not important here, I am still fascinated by the shadows caused by the works of art that are each wayang pieces. Not only for the openwork also the shapes that the puppets have at the level of stylization, the play on different perspectives, the profile with a body in the foreground ... that is, that deformation seems very interesting to me and in general the aesthetics is what I carry with me the most, deeply.

But, the music that for me I have never given any kind of importance when I have to do something, no kind of importance, then someone took care of it or was looking for anything, I don't have the capacity to take charge myself now, but for me yes, let the music be live. In other words, live music makes me move to another level and that has been thanks to living here, giving and recognizing the importance of music, both in life and in art, for me it has been like a discovery on both levels, on a personal and artistic level.

And there is a third element that has also been a bit a constant dilemma during all this time, that has to do tradition and modernity, which I think it is a tension, it is not a conflict it is a tension, which is very present here. And that has led me to plan as the importance of tradition here, many symbols, many elements that they want to preserve. What is it that can be preserved, what is it that cannot be preserved? and by contra as there are many elements that we have lost, right? in the West, and seeing the representation and the importance that the Mahabharata and Ramayana have here made me want to be able to recover some classic, well, that people maybe know more or less. If we transfer that to the West it would be like the Iliade and the Odissea, for example, right? And it was one of the ideas that, going back to what I was talking about the epic, could be interesting. Either that or recover more of the classic Greeks, Ovid's metamorphoses in shadows! So it is an idea that is born here when we see the value they give to certain myths, to certain stories that we only value creating a new, innovative story that is different, right? Well, it would be interesting to pick up something, reshape it and give it a new place on stage. Well all that...

GP: Among the stories here that we have tried to perceive, is there one that you liked more?

DB: Yes, I liked the only one I understood, of all the ones I saw, the one we saw together. Ahahah ... Yes, the only wayang that I understood and I liked it very much. I think I liked it because I was understanding, that is, maybe I witnessed wayang with much more interesting stories but, since I didn't understand them, I missed them... but, yes, I liked that one a lot.

CKK: For me I cannot think of any in particular because... even though we have worked with several, as we have been trying to incorporate elements of myths and traditions from here into the works: Dewi Sri, Sarasvati, Roro Kidul that is Javanese,

of wayang... I have been interested, I have found them relevant, but... how to say, I have found something for everyone.

But the other day, I had a talk with an artist who draws and paints wayang beber. I don't know if it's because it's really relevant or because it's recent, but I found it very interesting. He explained me the myth of Kala that basically eats everything, it eats everything, it eats time. Since I found it very interesting because in Indonesian what we would say for spending time, time fades or time passes, here it would be 'memakan waktu.' Then as time is a theme, an element that maybe worries me, I liked seeing this connection between the language 'makan waktu' and this myth. It destroys everything even time, time is also devouring and disappearing in this mythical figure. I found it interesting.

GP: From your point of view, the wayang here has also an educational function? And it could be generalized to all stories?

DB: Well, I think that traditionally ... I will improvise an answer. As tradition and tradition hold so much, I think that a moral educational function is still maintained, what is right, what is wrong, clearly, it seems to me that continues and that in the West it was lost. This educates society with the theater. I do think they still do.

GP: Why do you think it was lost in the West?

DB: Actually because of the mechanism of market production, yes the market production basically.

CKK: I think that more than objective it is inseparable... it is not really with everything, but you have spoken of stories. The stories have a explicit or non-explicit objective, they are telling you a vision of the world and a way of understanding things and they are giving you a message because the story ends well, ends badly, for one reason or another, a character who stands out or another one that does not stand out ... that is to say there is no doubt that the stories all have a message, intentional or not, there would be the big question "whoever is telling the story is doing it because he knows where he wants to lead and also you will underline ", as Perrot at the time ends with a moral that has not been made clear to you, that is what I want to tell you. It is not necessary that I say that is what I want to tell you but surely many stories have a clear intention and if they do not have it, they are also showing a vision of the world. And then there is always an educational content, at the moment a story, a story becomes a reference for someone - and stories are references, folklore reference for the people, the wayang reference for the Javanese people - for me clearly for the moment which is a reference, there is a message, therefore something arrives. That is, it is not - to give an example of the wayang - that is, here in Indonesia I have never actually seen it represented therefore I do not know the variations that they have in Indonesia, but in the original Ramayana Rama and Sinta is found and Rama rejects his wife because he was with another man despite the fact that she had not sought him and only the purifying fire in which she willingly launches herself to be blamed. Bom obviously there is a message of many things, which is the right thing for a king at the level of a superior thing, where is the

honor, what is the role of the woman, that is all that is there in history whether it is the intention or not from whoever wrote it that this reached the people, is showing a vision of the world, therefore it reaches, that, it reaches the people. The question is that stories have an educational function; they have the objective because it will depend on who would have written it, that they have that function when they come into the hands of a reader and become a reference for someone who has that function, that informal learning, clearly for me, without a doubt. I did not tell you here it has that function, which has had it for a long time, any book you read about wayang puts it: one of the functions of the wayang is to educate and that the objective is to reach certain messages to the people and the importance of the dalang who is a teacher, a sage, a guru. Whether or not I still have it today, I think for people who still see the wayang yes. The problem is that there are not so many people who see it, but for the people who continue to see it, the dalang is a person to admire, therefore the message it is transmitting to you with its history is a learning experience. And people know and like it and are aware of their power and their responsibility, I think. Then there are messages. I still do not understand Javanese, therefore I do not understand much but I think that the anecdote of seeing a dalang insisting on a work making a defense as the wayang was not inconsistent with religion, making a Defense that even if there are religions that are against art and human representation, the wayang is not incompatible. It is clear that the dalang know to be a reference that people are listening to and that they must make clear their point of view. That for me, there is no doubt that they have that function and that they have the intention in the wayang currently. Whether it arrives or not depends on how many people are watching it, but what the intention is.

GP: And for you, as are the creators of your shows, what is the path that normally unfolds, that is, what is the engine that leads you to create the shows and stories?

DB: It's a mystery...

I mean, I don't know, I think they are coming and that... I start writing my things and how they come I have no idea. An idea comes and puuh... and it comes out, and after it's ready to put it on the scene. As a first step I develop the idea and after the idea is there, I feel like putting it on stage. This is how it works inside me, I don't know why, because it comes out, I have no idea, because it's there and it comes... yes, it's like this...

CKK: Yes, but well I think that for me it is different, because for me... I work visually, so normally I think of thermos of images and from these images I develop ideas and for me... we do two types of works, some that are more Visuals and aesthetics in which we make music with images, there is a story behind it, but the objective is not a pedagogical objective, nor an objective that even understands 100% what is happening, but creates a visual and musical environment that invites. I'm thinking of the three we did the other day, the one in the middle Maja Bumi which was basically a musical and visual experience even though it had elements and symbols from the Sarasvati myth. What was important was neither the storyline nor the message. That would be a part. And then there is another one that works from images too but that has a message and those who want to have a message, for me it is important to

review once you have created something, what message are you giving? At the pedagogical level. Because my experience is with children, right? For example, now we are working on that one, the one that is important is based on a traditional Indonesian history and it was also born from images, it occurred to me much earlier the technique that I wanted to use to capture it and then the rest came, that is, I work at starting from the images and then developing others, but now we are already working with the text and the visual part is already created, we are only working on the text and we are constantly ruiding because for me it is important what the character means or what is understood, that generates, what idea gives, right? Is it an idea of violence, is it an idea of peace? Or dialogue or... because for me it is important because for me everything has a message and everything gives an idea. And above all if we are thinking, in this case the show is designed for children, that is, with the Gnyaw we do shows for the general public, but this one in particular we are putting together now is for children, therefore it is extremely important that the message being given subliminally be consistent with the values. So the subsequent review.

GP: Yes it also becomes a mean of communication

CKK: Totally

GP: Clearly I would not exactly get what you think

CKK: But of course it is interesting to at least ask yourself, I am deciding this phrase, this phrase that has an initial connotation, I am consistent with what I want to arrive or not. Well, it's part of the process to review that.

GP: Well I only saw three shows, the three more or less ecological. What topics are you most interested in working on now?

CKK: Those are actually traditional Indonesian tales, so the goal of this is to get it across. This show is not really from Gnyaw, it is a Damien show and mine is therefore another line of work, as it is the first one that is childish. What we have done with the Gnyaw so far is general public and that is clearly intended to reach out to a non-Indonesian audience, a non-Indonesian audience, stories about Indonesia. So it is designed so that you know other cultural elements and other history, other stories.

DB: And another Indonesian aesthetic, well with an Indonesian atmosphere

CKK: Yes... but that this Indonesian image, Indonesian stories, but that told you, we are reviewing what is said, how it is said, so that the message ... maybe it is somewhat altered with respect to what we have originally read or have put some phrase that...

GP: To respect it

CKK: To respect it and for what you said before... a coherent message.

No, I am thinking that in the story that we have not yet edited, the third, in which the protagonist is a man and I was wondering why not make a protagonist, lady. Because the first tale of animals and the second is an RW, a man, an RW ... a man who fights against a king, because they are all male characters, that is, four characters, four male, that is why I thought, at least The third story must have female heroin references and the version we have read of the story we want to make, the third, the protagonist is a man too. So here is a bit of a dilemma, whether or not we can make this change. Well, I would start doing it because there is a message behind it and the objective is to get an idea of Indonesian stories and tales, but maybe it is also a show for children, since it has an intention of referring, of education as I said before. Therefore it must be changed, why not?

GP: Of course it doesn't have to be scientific

CKK: But here the dilemma is tradition, do I change it?

DB: I really don't know if I have a topic that I like more, because maybe they are different from each other. But I cannot, when I write, I can hardly escape the political or something that has to do with current events or that affects me today. Always always, even if I am writing something super banal and funny, there is a quota of acidity at the moment. It escapes me; it is inevitable. To me as day-to-day, no, of reality, of world politics, always, always affects me. Even up to this, this show that is childish, I could not help but almost put that fish at the end of the story. The story ends where the king falls into the sea, the fish comes out and well, I made him say, he descends to rock humans into the sea. With all this context that every time a hello comes into the sea they seem like a coast full of body. In other words, in a children's story, at some point something comes to me, something from reality, from politics, whatever, that affects me and always appears, always, any text, any work that I have done, there is something of its moment. That goes through me: my writings and ideas are always crossed by the moment, however banal they are, because more educational, including the recipient, right? This time, a children's play, but I can say something that bothers me, and I say it.

GP: And it is not said that the children are less attentive to that too.

CKK: Well, in truth it is very cool to incorporate that too. Since there is that political part, the organic one comes out to me, right? The idea that came to me first was like this: "stop throwing trash in the sea!" because for me, yes, the ecological theme does always come out, instead incorporating that most relevant part at the moment we are, that appears. Because the works you saw are ecological, because it is a subject that...

GP: And above all here

CKK: Here... the first works we did, I explained to you the other time, were clearly inspired by the shock that I was supposed to discover as wonderful landscapes, in an

almost paradisiacal environment, right? it is really to be destroyed by a bad management of the waste and an excess of the consumption of the plastic.

DB: Well, even if you saw these three works, as all three are ecological, this Orang Hutan, the last one, is not ecological. This does not speak directly of ecology, it is drawn to be done in Indonesia, it is clearly political, it is not ecological. A direct criticism, right? It is disguised as a tribute, a tribute to the victims, so that it is politically correct, but if I could make it much harder, I make it much harder. The content is political, not ecological.

CKK: Good, but the ecological is political

DB: Yes, it has a side, but the political is at the top. Unlike Air or the other, if you see Air and you see Orang Hutan, which is the ecological one, what is the policy?

GP: Will you encounter difficulties here? About where these messages could go, such as limits or censorship?

CKK: No, we have not found it, because we have not presented it. There have been internal dilemmas.

DB: Because we wanted to present it just when it was happening all that at a festival in Sumatra. We went there and well for X reasons that were debated between us, we decided not. Well, what ended up deciding not to do it, not that, which is discussed, what we do, what we do, and what ends up defining was the bad state of the festival time. Now because of rain and that, the whole group in just one day had less representation time and we had to choose what to represent and it was left out, due to a climatic issue. And if you want for an internal group issue.

CKK: But it is clear that it is an issue we had raised. Limits, we put ourselves taking into account the context because as you said it is much more political and much more direct, much more accusatory and the version was much softer, much more parallel between where the issue is, because it is where we were

DB: Yes, because we were exactly in Sumatra

CKK: Yes, because we were in Sumatra, because obviously as tourists or students we have limitations and at the political level we could be. Yes, there are a series of implications if it is more direct and you accuse, if you put names ... that maybe we were not at that time as a group, we decided that at that time, we were not in a position to do, so this version was left as light.

GP: Here, I imagine, I do not know, tell me your opinion, here the puppeteers, the dalang perhaps only in books and perhaps in a somewhat romantic vision, had this role of social and political criticism of society. What we saw, or at least, what I saw, is that it seems more like a show, an entertainment, and if we meet the puppeteers in Europe, wow ... completely another thing, the puppeteers are anarchic, they fight

against society, politics and such. And you seem the same and how many puppeteers do they stand on?

CKK: To start, it is difficult to assess, it is difficult to assess because we do not understand everything that the puppeteers say, therefore it is very difficult to assess to what extent they are being critical or not. It is very, very difficult. In other words, make an assessment of that. Therefore, I cannot tell you that. I agree with you that it is a show and that above all entertainment. Most of what we have seen is like this.

DB: I suppose that of the dalang that, to see, there must be more critical dalang and another more condescending one, with the context, with its society, with the religion that pressures it. There are those who look good on him and another who perhaps doesn't care about anything, they want to say something. But hey it's hard to say, because we lose a lot

CKK: Sorry, reading the book you left me about the wayang kontemporer there was also an interesting article, which said to what extent this romantic vision that we fear that the puppeteers in Java or the dalang have this function, is it real and historical, or is it a romantic vision that the European researchers have made them real. That is, because it is clear that the input Javanese character is not critical with many things, therefore, why the dalang should be not? Then there was an interesting analysis of this article that came to say, what dalang can afford to be critical? In other words, just as the puppeteers can afford to be critical, is it that in contexts, a puppeteer who is just starting out, is not known, is in process, can he allow himself to be critical and that they are not left to contract in the next show? Only what has come above can afford it. And those who have reached the top, to what extent do they want to be, to continue? I explain? It is not so easy. But it is applicable to Europe, we have in Europe super anarchic puppeteers, super punks, yes it is true.

There is a very recent case in Spain of puppeteers in prison for... misunderstanding, especially. Where are we located? On the one hand I think that at the moment, at least I with Gnyaw have clearly located ourselves in Indonesia, and knowing where we were, and knowing that we are invited here, welcomed, so I think this was clear. We already solve it, so well, we go. We are going to Europe now that we are planting many things. For me personally, for my personal career, education is the most critical weapon, the strongest weapon that exists and that is where I want to influence, so it is such that you have to be critical and you have to see how it is done. Then there is an opportunity to criticize the immigration situation with this idea that occurred with the fish, go ahead! You have to get out, you have to be critical of things that don't work. Obviously we have a possibility, as I am rewriting what we do not agree with, to the monarchy. The story speaks of the king, well, it also appears, and it is clear that, as we said, the stories have messages according to how you count and what you tell, what you do not count, I think that we have it clear and it will appear more or less, according to what context, according to ... I don't know, more things

GP: Where do you place?

DB: Well, I don't know where I am. Because I do not think well of the game as well as the question, then I broaden, not where I place myself as a puppeteer, but as an artist. Be it, when I write, when I direct, when I act, when ... well, I get to be critical. I have as one of ... I have a phrase from my teacher as he was saying that the theater if it does not cry is theater in the living room, in the theater, that the theater is vomit, the theater is a scream, it has to say things to the face and it has to smell you, and it has to open your head, if it is not theater something just in front of the television and it is the same. To show something that is the same as the television that is more comfortable on the sofa. The theater has to be this a bit, in large part, a slap in the face. If not, I can no longer tell you I do theater at the moment that at the end of this play I can tell you something. I mean, if I can't say anything, then it doesn't work. It does not serve personally and the public does not serve it either, even though there is a public, a public that obviously ... the public does not care. The public that wants to go see the romantic musical comedy and is content with happy theater without leaving any other than a theater room... enter a theater room to leave the same for me, I don't know. I am tempted to be critical and say something, always. Something. If it hurts, better.

GP: Do you know UNESCO nominated wayang as a world heritage in 2003? I often wonder what this heritage of humanity means. For me it is difficult to speak interculturally if we do not speak the same language, if it is difficult to understand each other. And for me it is more difficult to understand a culture if you do not experience this culture. So we have at UNESCO a list of all cultural practices and I don't know what and which are called world heritage and are on this list because they are preserved in some way with international and national and local aid. If I have not asked myself many times, is this something practical that could give effective results or is it something utopian? I don't know if this topic may interest you

CKK: I am very interested

GP: How were we talking about politics, even though clearly the politics you understood before was another policy, but this for me is also a way to project ourselves for the future, right? Collectively, if possible or not. What is your vision? There are many things around here

CKK: Of course, many things have come out. There are many themes. Because of course you are proposing that as it is called world heritage, there has to be an intercultural theme, among all... of course I see it when, but it is my vision, when UNESCO said this is a world heritage site, it means we cannot allow the humans who come after us to miss that, we cannot allow. The humans who come behind are from where? They are actually thinking more about this part of the world and obviously all humans can enjoy the wayang. Yes... well, it causes me many dilemmas, because on the one hand it is true that there are things that I am the first to think that there are things that must be protected and that need specific policies so that they do not disappear... minority languages for example Without concrete policies so that they do not disappear, they disappear. But, on the contrary, that is more or less the same

thing that is happening with certain artistic themes, but here I also have the impression and it is a sensation only that the weight of the world heritage of the recognition of UNESCO plus the weight that it has tradition generates a tension that we were saying before between tradition and the desire to innovate that it has ... that there are many new generations of artists. I believe that every artist, now I am generalizing, every Indonesian artist faces this dilemma, of tradition and the new. Me, the most personal and everyone. But most puppeteers have this weight, the weight and the policies they are exercising so that things remain as tradition says. For me it is a feeling that can really become a weight. There are many artists who are doing new things, they are doing wayang kontemporer, they are trying to innovate, I have the impression that it does not have the same value, that it is not recognized the same, that it has to be constantly justifying itself. There are examples of puppet groups deciding to make any of the traditional puppets and therefore cannot belong to the Indonesian puppet association. In other words, there is a weight that defines and defends things, but it is a slab for others, so there is an important tendency towards that, I think.

GP: It is this for me that is a UNESCO contradiction because there is a continuous selection of what can be preserved and what cannot be, so that everything that exists in this world can be included, there will never be an end. That is why I wonder if it will be something utopian, or if it is utopian, an ultimate end that is never reached but indicates a direction in which we all look.

CKK: I don't know, I don't know if it's utopian or not. I just think that it is difficult to find a balance, that is, it is very good, what you said, I think it is essential, that is to say, provably things that are disappearing that maybe the wayang, I am not sure about the case of the wayang, but that they will disappear because they have a format that no one is there anymore ... and that would inevitably lead to nobody wanting to see the wayang, that nobody wants to build the wayang, that these art forms disappear. In other words, there is an almost certain death, but the policy that is applied, how it is applied and that implies, may be counterproductive to a natural development of artistic and cultural forms.

DB: I will have duas, the famous English theater of Shakespeare that continues to maintain the tradition of representation and all that is the universal heritage of humanity? I think not. The physical theater, the Globe, is in which the same way continues to be represented originally. Nothing, it seems strange to me, it still has to do with that of the natural process of the arts, that a policy is needed, because I associate it a bit with folklore in Argentina, which is a time in the 90's where young people started to change the music a bit, the folklore, as well as the movement of that is not folklore because they incorporated a bit of another sound and the great musicians, folklore. The traditional is traditional if that holds for me, that was so in Argentina with the music so the folklorists filled their mouths saying that they were going to ruin the folklore. And the folklore is still alive, as always, that is, it doesn't change anything, folklore is folklore. I think you do not need someone to come, this does not touch, this is a World Heritage...

CKK: I think the mistake is that protecting is not to be touched, cannot be validated, right? Because the culture itself is alive and evolves over time and the error lies with me in the policies that are applied. When the policies to preserve what they do, that is to say, belong to this category, it has to be this way so they are setting limits, they are narrowing down they do not leave the evolutions. But on the other hand the policies are interesting and necessary, I was thinking about when I was in Docan, a small town in Sumatra near Lake Toba, a young boy told us he has studied music and composition in Solo and he returns to his town with a lot of desire. Recover folklore, that is to say the traditional thing at a musical level because he is a musician of his town. Why? Because people by global influence know how to play an organ, they know how to play a bass but they no longer play instruments. So maybe the mistake here would be worth the traditional thing, this is only you can play this. But perhaps there is a policy that includes these instruments at school, which facilitates access to these instruments that are more expensive compared to those that are cheaper, that is, to think about what action measures they can use that are available. an easier access to those instruments, towards them they are known as much as music is played on the radio that does not have the same instruments, that is, for me the difficulty is in finding balance in the policies that are chosen to apply and that it means having the seat of the patrimony to protect. That for me with the wayang is a bit surreal because when you read the script over which you are claiming, the wayang in general do not know if it was finally approved or not, but the wayang film, the wayang komik, is wayang? I mean, where are the limits? Limits are necessary, aren't they? So wayang film is wayang, but when you do wayang kulit if you don't do wayang purwa isn't it? Who is marking that? What can new generations do against it? Oh, there's the dilemma. So maybe the problem I don't know because I don't know who it is that defines the policies in concrete things, if UNESCO or the countries.

GP: Both of them. In other words, UNESCO is a contest; every year there are nominations. Like all applications, there are selection criteria, those that are worth the most, the least. Therefore, to respond to these criteria, when sending the candidatures, each nation has to do an investigation, write a document, make videos and such that they respond to what UNESCO asks. So there is a way to come in, it is never documenting how things are, first because it is impossible because it is impossible, whatever documentation it is, it is never objective, second because it has to respond.

DB: A horseplay.

CKK: It could be, it could be, but for me the dilemma. For me the dilemma is that it can be a pallaçada because they have given us first because the puppets for an aldo, two, the people who refer and who are determined to do research have clear ideas about what they want, they put it on the table. Clearly there is a history of the development of the wayang that this is the traditional one and therefore it is very varied because history has brought us here and what comes later is left out, that is, it is leaving out many things and is not allowing the development or the alternatives. But on the other hand, it is true because that if Indonesia were not recognized as a

world heritage site, it would not receive funds and there would be less training, there would be less ... and therefore I believe that what we see today and that we do not quite understand that it is as one says you are still doing wayang that nobody supports it, nobody supports 7 hours, the people who had a wayang are more or less the same. The Dalang are going to give support, plus some old man or some clueless people from the village where it is being done. That would not happen if there was no policy behind it. The question is: it is good that it is happening, well, nobody is interested in disappearing. There is this dilemma. Do not run away from the policy that is giving support so that this continues to happen, even if no one understands why it continues to happen.

DB: It would be something else the wayang now

CKK: it is clear that it would be something else, I think, it is clear that it would be something else

DB: I would have fewer hours, I don't know, it would have more dynamics.

CKK: Well, there are dalang who started doing it, of course.

GP: Outside of UNESCO, there is a transformation of the role of the dalang, since he became a dalang super star, the artist understood as in Occidente. With a power, a different social statute, before there was also here but

CKK: Yes, but it was more spiritual, more of a moral guide, now it is more of a superstar as we understand it in Occidente.

GP: Also because with all the media, television, radio and Internet, especially social media, the ray of action is now much more widespread, this. For example, the best known here in Yogya, Nugroho bosom, has a whole malt of fans that follows him everywhere he goes.

DB: Like a rock band

GP: Yes, a rock band, the dalang band.

CKK: But do these people who follow understand their stories?

GP: Yes, for example I have found a family in the usual angkringan, which is a source of information, which was one of the fans of Seno Nugroho.

CKK: Of course, you think that this is independent of UNESCO recognition as...

GP: I think there are several things, they are many, I think it is not like that: UNESCO policies then wayang becomes like that, it is not automatic. Because there are several things in the middle. Because there is political change, local policies, global events like that, television, Internet, which change the ways of being immensely.

CKK: I continue with the same subject, but I change ... you said it because of the interculturality, that is, there is one thing that has to do with a puppeteer who was here in the last generation of Darmasiswa and who I had done before coming. In other words, before, there is an international organization of puppeteers from all over the world, UNIMA, and each nation has a national UNIMA. So before coming, ah you go to Indonesia, those from UNIMA Indonesia are very rare, they always go on their way, always at best, they don't mix with their ... I didn't know anything about Indonesia, it was before coming, They had only told me that, imagine. And then you get here and you get it. I mean, first, they are elitist because the dalang are not considered puppeteers, they are a superior species, super star

DB: They are god

CKK: Exactly and then here, I mean all that by ... is a small mafia that does not allow it to get out of what someone, they, UNESCO, whoever, has stipulated as traditional Indonesian, can have access. On the one hand, as far as I know, the Papermoon are puppeteers, they cannot belong to UNIMA because they cannot belong to the national UNIMA and they are puppeteers. That is, it is a case like super clear of and I tell you Papermoon that they do a super distant thing but there is not a single wayang purwa puppeteer in UNIMA Indonesia. I mean, it's very strong. That on the one hand, then what reaches the world of Indonesia? That on the one hand, and on the other, they know that they are exclusive, they know that, then it is difficult for them to understand that this heritage, or well we are going to see that we understand the heritage of humanity. If it belongs to humanity, I want to learn it. That was what I meant before, you told me, in yogyakarta I was dazzled by the opening so that everyone, became dalang or not even the bule, we can learn. But it wasn't so true so far. If you want to learn you have to be one of us and become a dalang and do the whole process of training, you cannot come to learn only the technique, because it is more than a technique, for them.

GP: The dalang of your house that says about your works?

DB: We don't know, tomorrow, we'll see, tomorrow will be an important day.

GP: Why would they ask them to manipulate?

CKK: There are several reasons, one is a question of gender on the one hand, women have much fewer opportunities, because we are going to give other opportunities. Two, originally the voices of the characters, now those voices of the entire work are recorded, but originally they were going to be live and the majority of the characters in the work are feminine, so we wanted it to be. And then we were interested in working with young dalang who were open to working on innovative things, we didn't want an established dalang because obviously ... that is, new things come out.

GP: And Nisa and Lisa are in this one?

CKK: Yes, they are very young, they do not come from a dalang family, therefore at best the manipulation techniques fail, for example, they are not super good at manipulating.

DB: But this work does not require great manipulation skills, it requires that they feel good in front of the screen and only have the puppet where it should be.

CKK: But the problem with the golek, that they weigh too much, and that none of them has experience with the golek, that's the problem, but good. For example, the first time we had a great dilemma, the first work we presented, Victor and I, wayang sampah, we had a dalang, but a dalang that does what ... at the time that opinion was expressed about the content of the work. The reaction was, on the one hand, psychologist groups, young people at a distance from the world of the wayang they loved it, because we talked about ecology, because we did it using their own elements and people from outside the world were very interested, instead, the people of the world of pedhalangan terrorized them. We were using its elements; we were blaspheming mixing with garbage. Paksi, who now loves working with us, but at that time has come to see Solo's work, said: "you cannot do what you have done" that is, it was very hard the first time we acted. We have taken Roro Kidul as the queen of the sea who is not a character who has a wayang because he does not have a wayang, but hey you can do a pinch, but we had taken his story and he became a plastic monsters because he ate a lot Plastic is basically an end of mutation for having eaten plastic. And I shut up for us, that is, no, precisely the idea is that, your important things that are very beautiful, because they continue to be beautiful and they go to hell they continue throwing garbage. The message wanted to be precisely we are using what is your symbols, because they are, instead, because the people far from this world had liked it, instead the people of pedhalangan purwa was like. Yes, yes, I was like three months, because we cannot do anything, so we are offending, we are...

Yes I do create a little bit of everything, mixing wayang kulit puppets with garbage puppets. It was all a bit "the *bules* who are doing it". I think now this was the first thing we did, now it's been a while since we've been doing things around here, maybe it's a little less, but many people who come to see tomorrow haven't seen anything of ours yet. The man who has made the puppets, those of golek and those of kulit, who come on stage, comes, but he understood it when he asked for the wayang style but Mexican style puppets. So that's it, right? Let's see how the reaction with the family here. Maybe they will kick us...

GP: Out!

DB: They didn't learn anything!

CKK: No well, in this sense I am very calm because in reality we are only inspired by the techniques, we do not take any myth, any... simply the puppets are wayang golek type and wayang kulit type, and the shape and everything. It is more aesthetic inspiration and a little technical, a little alone, because there is also a jape that has nothing to do with them. The story is Mexican, that is to say that in principle no one

should be offended, simply one thing will perish a very rare campur. Madremia that pastiche! I mean, in principle there should be nobody offended tomorrow, hopefully.

DB: On top no one fought

CKK: Not a battle, pah! What boredom

DB: Not a killer, I didn't fight

CKK: And in Bahasa Indonesia, it is not Javanese

DB: Uuh! and the goro-goro? No

CKK: Because this is another interesting topic. On an aesthetic level, one of the things that surprised me: I came here that I was already disappointed because the class we were going to work in was facing the wall and we were not going to see the shadows, and I was super sad. I had not yet seen any wayang kulit show and I went to see the show that the Sonobudoyo do, the first thing I saw. In Sonobudoyo, in the museum, they do two hours of wayang julit. So we went and everyone was *bule*, behind the screen. In other words, you go in, how strange that they let you in where the orchestra is. So there was a super small place for shadows and all the bules were tight in the small place. And nothing, I was in a super mystical plan, this will be super magical, I will be like, I was going to study that for a year and I wanted to see it. It begins with a very strange music that I had never heard before and suddenly ... the puppeteer's hands are seen moving the puppets. And I say, but how does this! After two hours super bored there. I mean, this is bad, right? This is for tourists; it can't be that way actually. Well, I'm going to, well, like a super investigator; I'm going to see what's behind it. And there were all those of gamelan, yes, he comes here to play. Of course, they were as they normally are, and of course, none of them moved to see the dalang because, that is, naturally, that comes out, because it is impossible to be sitting in front of the shadows that are moving two hands. I mean that day, I hope this is, which is very seedy, because it is for tourists because. And I did not discover that it is how things are intended that as a shadow puppeteer, it is so dirty to see a hand of the manipulator. Well, because our little council is that, the shadows have to keep the magic, they have to at least see a stick, the better. And another thing is this. When I did a performance for the Irish gamelan and it was a contemporary mix, a mix of puppets there and contemporary stuff with jape. And my parents came to Ireland to see it. The end of a week or so, looking at the photos, my super worried father says to me "Well Elena, I have to tell you one thing, your hands can be seen, eh!" She said it to me super worried, saying you made it fatal, but she didn't want to tell you. And of course, and I'm one thing that I was trying to avoid because I know it's dirty but puppets are not designed so that you don't see your hands. So it is inevitable that in some scenes they would see their hands when I was handling and my mother, like Ocidental, had perceived her as dirty as I had the first time when I had seen her. And like me, I imagine, all the public that does not understand this context. So, these puppets, we made them with the longest sticks to avoid showing our hands when we manipulate our hands. But of course the puppets are not

designed for that, with these sizes. What we talked about before ideal, then is more difficult, that's why.

DB: And also because we were also discovering them on the way, that is, in Ensio, we realized that with the stick that corresponds to the size of this puppet, we could not manipulate it and we changed. Depends on the puppet and depends on who manipulates, there are some longer and one shorter.

CKK: In fact look we have one that you changed your stick for precisely that reason. Because I did not want, I did not want the hands to be seen. Look at that. Look what longer sticks it has. Because this is done in a moment, you touch your hair. We have to change the clubs. This is Maganga who is the mother Ganges, from the Ganges River, who made the river with her hair, the Ganges River. That he is also a puppet that does not exist, because he is an Indian character, then. For the electronic music show with puppets. This is the protagonist of Wonosari.

DB: For what we do it needs to be long, also in reality as it was I also handled it well but my hand got lost. When I made her touch her hair, my good hand appeared.

CKK: Is that we changed his arms, because he came with very thin arms, it must have been kulit kambing or something like that, so I asked him to make new kulit kerbau arms. And these junctions I puz, maybe they are very close. Maybe I put them looser.

DB: This puppet is super cute, super dark.

CKK: I made the drawing of the head and asked him to make Sinta's body.

DB: The tools are very important, very important.
It is the number one secret, a good tool.
That's for when we do visuals for heavy metal.

GP: I would like to talk about what we talked about once, about what is performance and performatic

CKK: That's Damián, this is Damián's turn.

DB: Very complicated

GP: Yes it is complicated. I was also talking with Iwan, about what is performance in a box, with a screen and space limits. And for example Iwan who comes from performance art and then acts on the street and has a lot of improvisation, he says that performance is never the same and is always contextual, historical, political and such. And that there are no rules, second. According to me, no, it is not, there are rules. Because when looking at a performance, unless they are performance art, in festivals and such there are things that are more performatic than others. So there is a language in performance art that we say is encoded, which is recognized as such and is encoded in the world of performance art. So there is a language there too.

Clearly there are no written rules, we are not talking about theater in which there is a written piece, you know, with indications, this guy has to put himself there, this one has to put himself there, make this expression. But even in performance art in my view there are rules.

And for me it is interesting the relationship between those who act and the space where they act. So in the case of a screen as a spectator it seems to me that it is super limited, you have a narrow space and still almost flat at the top, right? in the case of the wayang it is almost as if you are acting on a canvas, you are painting.

CKK: Yes Yes. But of course in the case of the wayang, when acting in Java they precisely expand the performative space. By not being the screen and the shadows, if not being everything behind it, you are expanding the space.

GP: It depends on which point of view we are talking about, because for the spectator on the side of the shadows it is perhaps like being in the cinema.

CKK: But of course the wayang kulit performance is not supposed to be performance, it is performance. I mean, it wouldn't fall into the performance category, would it? You who are the experts.

GP: It is very label, flexivel, this category. It is not very performance versus performance, but more so what is the repetition of a performance or less.

DB: What happens is that the concept of performance is super ambiguous and wide, very ... it depends on how one uses it and how another uses it. The point that distinguishes a performance from a performing art is the traditional, theater, dance, wayang drink, it is one the character of improvisation, there is no margin of improvisation more comprehensive than the traditional arts and there is usually only one structure, the actor, the dancer, the plastic artist, requires having this handle within these margins. He knows where to go and what to do and where to end. And on the other hand, as for me there is no test, there is not, or there is a minimum, because what repetition does is fix and once it is fixed it says to be performatic. It becomes something messy, it happens to be something you have been practically doing so that it will serve with a greater illusion, with a greater attitude, with a greater ... the margin of error, the grim margin, the random margin is more curtailed. For me that is like the key point of the difference between a performance. To be see this woman who sits six hours to look into the eyes of the public she wants, well clearly it is not a show, it is not a performing art, it is not a show. Clearly that is a performance. How he explains it, he does not know very well how he explains it. But that is clear, it is a performance, but it is not a show.

CKK: But what does performance do? What makes it a piece of art and not a lady sitting looking people in the eyes, to pass on her roll?

DB: The concerto of palabrerio that can put. The artist, the conceptual verbiage that the artist puts in the justification, for example, for sitting in a chair and looking at people's eyes. I mean, that can be a performance, it is, I think it is, and there is a list

of provably being art. That I sit here half an hour to look with a concept behind, a conceptual development, that I am going to sit down and look at you half an hour in the eyes, these are artistic acts, that is me.

CKK: That is, not all performances are artistic acts?

DB: Well, I think not, there is one that will be, others that will not.

GP: What seems to me is that in the performance there is a stage that is not physical, material, as it can be the theater, the dance, the puppets, it is one more box of relationships, which is done between what is performing and the I publish and above all I believe the ones that tax. Those who are there for the registration. It is as if I created a scenario that is made by the presence of these people there, these people and no place. Because Abramovic clearly told her because clearly if she looks at people like that in her house, well no one knows. She may have done this performance, she may have trained this performance, with all the residue, who knows.

CKK: Therefore if there is no camera, there is no performance?

DB: It's not because of the camera.

CKK: But because you have included the cameras, it is interesting. So if there is no registration, there is no performance?

DB: For me, this woman's for example, if I consider her a performance, but from there to being art. I think they put it to be it or to say it artistic is the whole concept behind it, so when an object of art has to fill this with words and concept of things, for me it loses of, it is not.

GP: Is it no longer art because of the verbiage?

DB: No, not because of the babble. All that is needed. If a performance art removes the concept and removes the context, it does not stand as art, that is, it needs that to justify itself as art. A Picasso, a painting, you put it in the moon, it is still a Picasso. You don't need the whole word, or the story behind it. Art is self-justifying.

GP: I don't know

CKK: What you were saying Gulia is that the context does the performance.

DB: Yes I am not saying no. No, no, art. I am not saying that what she does is not performatic, it is clearly performatic. From there to have artistic value or that it is art what it does, no. those painters who join the weight and plate are half an hour doing a show that is performatic, from there to the result of that being artistic, that it can be in a gallery and be worth a million values. That was a good show in half an hour, very good, I loved these movements, but then the painting...

CKK: Worth a pimienta

DB: That is, the performatic may or may not contain content and artistic value, it seems to me.

GP: Is that it can have an artistic value that is conceptual, like Duchamp who revolutionized art. A urinal I don't know what artistic value it is. Clearly that has an artistic value because because I did it in that historical, political, artistic period, which changed everything. Perhaps you find these performances, some of them, not clearly all, may have artistic value because they introduce into the world of art and contemporary critique of pensomanto, some values that were not put into discussion before.

DB: Yes yes, I am not saying that all performances do not have artistic value, there are some performances that do, there are some that I like very much for being barbaric. The grand maioria is only to perform. There is a guy who does things with mud, who makes masks with mud, you have not seen him, he is super crude. It almost throws at gore art, gore cinema, but he simulia making mud, pushing himself with it and changing his face, it's great. It is super strong. And nothing, what it does is this, video of a minute or two. He shoves his face in and starts. He is a plastic artist, but I do not remember at this time how he comes to use the clay on his face as well as in performance, that seems great to me and the feeling and everything that causes him to see it, because it is super strong. I reject empathy because it is tough. It is not empathy, it is rejection. What he does is very strong.

GP: There are some crazy artists that I do in a gallery I think of New York, in the United States. His work of art was a dog, caught on a leash, left in the room without food and without drink. Never ouviron fail. This was the center of artistic discussions for months, imagine, and not only artistic, all animalists. And well clearly the artist had to give motivations for having done that. The point is that there are people who cook the same thing every day and that the reaction ... is the same, that is, all the spectators who entered this gallery do not give water, they do not give food to the dog, because it is this work of art , you know I respect or I don't know what, I fear or I don't know what. So it was a super criticism of the

CKK: Impassivity

GP: Of humans against the atrocities of the world.

For me it is to get to the point that art is already saturated, you have to really get to fry an animal so that a strong message arrives. It has to get there.

DB: To the extreme, yes.

GP: That was strong for me. Super strong a little because of the decline of the art too. Human decay and decay of art, parallelemanete clear, because it is a reflex.

DB: And this aside, it is the era where emotions predominate and not reason. And we have entered the era

CKK: Of emotions?

DB: Of emotions. So the world is going to be crazier, still. It seems that we are going to enter, we are making the change.

GP: And after the emotions?

CKK: How does the story end? Does it end well or does it end badly?

DB: After the emotion, I don't know.

CKK: "Colorin colorado eso cuento se ha terminado". It ends like this
I have to ask if there is something like that in Indonesian.
In Italian "c'era una volta..." begins and how does it end?

GP: "E vissero tutti felici e contenti"

DB: Of course, the stories in Argentina also end like this, but when it ends like telling, how to close the stories section, like you are not going to tell more stories, we say this "colorin colorado eso cuento se ha terminado," as for today there are no more stories.

CKK: Well in Indonesia maybe

DB: Do you remember the positions of the kayon what they mean? They have a meaning, don't they? When it goes to one side, when it goes to another.

CKK: I must have it written down there. It must have with the stages of the life of the man I think.

12.

Interview with pak Tejo, pak Hartono and other pedalangan teachers.

SMK Negeri 1 (the State Vocational High School), Kasihan, Bantul, DIY
November 15, 2016.

(The interview was in Javanese and Indonesian languages – translation from Javanese to Indonesian by my friend Hendra; my translation from Indonesian to English)

pak Tejo: About me? well I'm an artist

pak Hartono: This is the icon of Yogyakarta pedalangan

pT: Ahahah about school is with him

pH: What is your name?

GP: Giulia.

pH: What do you want to ask? Please.

GP: The history of the SMKI, when pedalangan course was activated?

pH: SMKI pedalangan, right? It opened in 1976, 1975. But from 1975 to 1976, one year, there were no students. Only in the year 1977 there were students. But officially it opened in 1975.

GP: Here already?

pH: It moved to this complex in 1982.

GP: And before?

pH: Previously at Tejokusumaan, then Notoprajan and then at Suryodiningratan. It moved number of times. At first the name was KONRI a dance conservatory, not a middle school, and it was under the department of arts. After becoming SMKI, it moved under the education department, secondary school.

GP: I'm recording, ok?

pH: Then, the opening was with a puppet show by dalang pak Seno Nugroho. After it moved here, theater was added too.

Now there are between five and seven students, reaching the record of thirteen, fourteen at the second grade.

GP: I asked to the secretary how many students are enrolled in pedalangan: fourteen at the first grade, thirteen the second and three the third grade.

pH: Right, that should be four, but now there are only three because one didn't pass.

GP: Why in the third grade is so few?

pH: I don't know, we don't really know. It happened once only one child enrolled, whose name Rohmat. But even though only one person we keep open.

GP: Is this like high school education?

pH: yes

GP: Usually for who wants to be dalang?

pH: There is pure motivation to become a dalang, there is motivation to get to ISI, to UGM or to UNY for becoming a teacher. This means that in pedalangan if you want further study there are no problems. If you want to be a dalang indeed graduating from high school you must be able to perform. Seno was our student, he only graduated from high school and his motivation was to become dalang.

GP: Since when do you work here?

pH: I'm in SMKI since 1981. In the past, pedalangan did not have an official teacher. Then the students were caught to become teacher assistants and continue learning to become teachers, 70% of the teachers are pupils. Looking for pedalangan teachers is difficult; there is not a college for pedalangan teachers. ISI graduates cannot be pedalangan teachers.

GP: Why?

pH: Because they don't have teaching skills. Pedalangan knowledge is not taught at ISI that does not take care of pedalangan teachers.

GP: If you can play...

pH: Not necessarily you are able to teach. That is the case. Meanwhile UNY produces teachers, but there is no pedalangan faculty.

GP: What about P4TK in Kaliurang?

pH: Before it collaborated with UNY to address the problem

GP: With pak Malyono. Comparing education here with the one at ISI or at a sanggar, which are the differences?

pH: Here because this is a school institution, the subjects between theory and practice are balanced. At ISI it is mostly practice, that's the difference. Here there is mathematics, Indonesian. Everything is the same as high school, around thirtyfive hours per week.

From the competency side it becomes an obstacle because there is a lot of time of theory. It's different the aim, here is guaranteed for three years to be a dalang. There is who can't do anything and with three years become a puppeteer. The goal should be the whole night performance, it means that later affairs run. But we in three years from zero become dalang.

pH: We had a student from Spain, Manuel, still young. He has been here for two years and continued to study in Japan too. Now is in Madrid, on the roadside. I have a friend in Madrid who told me.

GP: Did he have class in Javanese?

pH: Yes, it must be in Javanese language, because it has three functions: the first function is communication, the second is the ethics, the third the literature. Well, the language for daily communication is different from the language of the dalang. Then the language of communication has ethics. In English you is 'you', with father is 'you', but Javanese language has gradation. With the father is *panjenengan*, *kowe*. There are differences; in English 'you' is with the president, 'you' is with the younger sister. That is the ethics function. Here pedalangan has a literature function, thus it's different from everyday Javanese. Beautiful language, that's the difference. That's sometimes because there are ethics, there are gradations, there is *panjenengan*, there is *kowe*, brother, father.

GP: How did wayang become a symbol of Indonesian culture?

pH: Islam spread mostly through wayang.

GP: Before Islam, wayang already existed?

pH: Already, but not like now, still an image of wayang. Wali Sanga, the person who spread Islam, imprinted the current wayang.

GP: Do you teach using books here? or which sources do you use?

pH: The books also exist, but mostly recordings, videos of our puppeteers are for children to learn. There is also a book from kraton, the red one, which we use. Yogyakarta reference is kraton Yogyakarta, if Solo is Solo kraton.

GP: From which period?

pH: Islam Mataram. After Wali [the guardians] generation, the term Mpu born. Mpu's work is used as a source in the community, the source from the kraton.

GP: Like the source Pustaka Raja Purwa

pH: Here is Purwa Kanda

GP: Almost the same or different?

pH: There are differences.

GP: In Solo there is also Wirata Purwa ...

pH: That is a story already. Pedalangan sources are two: Pustaka Raja Purwa, Wirata Purwa.

GP: Then Arjuna Wijaya?

pH: That's a story too. Arjuna Wijaya tells about Arjuna's life journey.

GP: And do you also talk about 'rasa' here? What is 'rasa' actually?

pH: So rasa cannot be applied, usually we feel the pleasure of that beautiful taste, in puppetry as well the practice is with rasa. So what is taught is how that feeling can be followed in the learning process. In the heart, not in the brain. People do that, if you think about it, you can't. Who works the feelings, the left-brain. The art is more like that, sometimes by logic it cannot.

GP: Pak Hartono is a dalang?

pH: Yes, I still often perform. Yesterday in the park, often if people request it. It is an extra income only, the official work is there.

GP: Sometimes there is who is no longer active

pH: Yes, because you have to focus. A dalang if does not perform cannot live, automatically if we are not professional, additional financial as I am also like that.

GP: If you look at the dalang situation now in Yogya, how is it?

pH: Wayang is a performance that never died since long ago in Indonesia. The only performance that never dies, there is ketoprak that now is almost dead, there is ludruk, but wayang since begin never died and can keep with the times. That is a mystery.

The topic of the stories must be smart related to the current political events. Automatically, how someone who doesn't master politic can speak, dalang must be clever. She knows political science. How to put it on a show? Dalang can deliver what has just become the issue topic. This is how wayang can keep up with times; that's the real secret.

GP: Do you think is there also government functions?

pH: Before yes, but now not anymore. During the New Order, when Indonesia was under president Suharto, the government used dalang to be its official interpreters. Now the democratic era is expressing, it's free to criticize the government. Before it was not allowed. When the New Order who criticized the government was arrested. Now dalang is free of expression. What is true is said to be true, what is wrong is said wrong. Previously what was wrong must be said to be true, because of the government mission. Now it's free, dalang is free to express. The police don't mind now. That turns out wayang never died so far.

GP: The young generation?

pH: Continue to enjoy it. Seno Nugroho's audience is more than for a music concert.

GP: But maybe in Yogyakarta he is the only one who can get until there.

pH: Yes. Actually it's just the same as other arts. In music not all are brave singers, the more popular more concerts. In the all night long performance, the dalang is strong and the audience is strong too. Wayang is only in Indonesia.

There is a routine performance at Sassono Hinggil, every second week of the month. There are many foreigners watching, even though they don't know what wayang is, only to verify whether there is an all-night performance with strong artists, strong audience until morning. Only in Indonesia. Can be checked in the world, there isn't. The audience might be strong, until morning. Strong artists, strong audience. Eight hours without stopping, not urinating, not eating, not sleeping.

GP: Yes, extraordinary.

pH: That's possible in Indonesia because this is not modern art, it is very traditional. But now modernity accessed: three puppeteers, new stories must enter now.

GP: Like Ki Enthus, right?

pH: Modern dalang, the dalang of this age. If Ki Enthus performed in 1990s, the police already arrested him, because he dares to say right if it is right, wrong when it is wrong. He talks the way it is; dirty words he dares too. Indonesia is just now beginning to learn democracy. Italy is advanced, the democracy already. Not in Indonesia, right? It was a kind of dictatorial state, now since 1998 Indonesia is considered a democratic country. Dalang is also democracy now, dalang is free to move. Whatever want to say now is free, before cannot.

It is a very traditional art, but why would anyone want to research?

Because it's very difficult, even for Indonesians is difficult, rarely do they study wayang. Indonesians rarely study wayang, because they themselves don't understand.

GP: It might depend on the perspective of the research. I'm from anthropology, more into the community, discussing, interviewing.

Did you start working here in 1981, right?

pH: Seno Nugroho was my student, he graduated in 1992.

GP: If you can compare now and when you started teaching, how changed the training process, what the students mostly enjoy?

pH: It easier now. Now, there are already a lot of media, children only opening this can learn. Everything is here. You want to find a story, is there. Previously we had to watch wayang, approach the dalang, now we do not meet the puppeteer, just open this already got the knowledge. It is different from before, the senior puppeteers used to come, sometimes they don't. The time was limited. Finding source now is very easy, easier.

GP: But maybe it is not so for memorizing, it might be harder.

pH: oh yes, in the past the people learned seriously, once we meet the source we had to, because it was not easy to meet with the informants. Not the same now. Children will plunge into the community. Want to choose professional, traditional contemporary, please, it's up to each of them, but the basic must be understood. The relation with the above in pedalangan world cannot be separated, but not through class. Alone. In order to be skilled, but it is up to each of them. We don't teach for sure.

GP: If you play now is by saying a mantra?

pH: It is also up to each. Alone is surer. I give you, not necessarily sure. I am not sure I want to, but if alone, will be more presentable, sure. Never give. I also have never been given, even though looking for myself, sort of want to use. If we give but are not sure, be careful, because it is connected with belief. Execute things that we are not sure of? It won't, but if we have our own beliefs, that will.

As you study, you are sure 'I am sure I can research wayang' with full confidence, always confident we are always sure we can. Same actually. How to release us? From us, since we believe we can, we can. I really can't get away from pedalangan. To be able the all night, physically, not urinating. There is no knowledge, only confidence. Have you ever thought why have thoughts like that?

GP: Yes, no answer yet.

pH: If you ask to anyone, why dalang does not urinate, there is no answer.

GP: But I also never saw a dalang who doesn't smoke.

pH: Oh yes, it is because of entertainment, because it is refreshing.

GP: Maybe because he doesn't want to urinate

pH: Nothing to do. For refreshing, all night. Almost all puppeteers smoke definitely all night long. There is no connection with not urinating.

GP: Yes, I don't know, smoking makes it harder

pH: Maybe maybe, it could be. But have you researched it? I don't know that either. There was no answer.

Serious people, automatically he will be given a blessing. Logically, if someone works eight hours without stopping legs, ears, face and all will fall, if doesn't get protection. The message must be for the company.

GP: Wayang hip-hop?

pH: That's dalang looking for money. He is my student, whose name Benyek, high school graduate student. He is great on traditional wayang, no less than Seno Nugroho. Great. People life are choices, the profession is a choice. He chose wayang hip hop to find food. That's just wayang looking for food, like wayang kampung sebelah [literally: village next door] and others wayang enter in the context of wayang looking for money, looking for food. That one has not entered yet.

GP: Ki Seno is now the most famous in Yogyakarta, why?

pH: Dalang is a difficult profession. Good sound, but must be good, continue to understand how to cling if someone has a good voice not necessarily good tidiness can't be funny his uncunts are many all uncul literary good jokes, usually so mastering

GP: Maybe because it's also between traditional and experimental...

pH: He could keep up with the times. Wayang before 2000 are different. Wayang pak Timbul, the characteristics of that wayang, would not be sold now. Because there are individual times.

GP: Today, we are in which era? What kind of wayang?

pH: Kasidi era.

Basically strong first. People make a strong fund house, they want to form a joglo. At this high school is given strong foundations.

pH: Clearly there are dalang who can follow the community. For example, before the singer was strictly prohibited to see the audience. But the era is different. Workers or the audience is happy to see the singer. It's an example of such development, before it was not allowed. Singers or dancers stayed behind, cannot appear. But now happened that some dangdut singers are actually happy

GP: How is it, the mastermind needs to follow the community but also the puppeteer has an effect on the community?

pH: Dalang is named shaman. The shaman like dalang teacher is no different from the teacher, must be an educator for the community. In addition we can also give to the community, we must become community teachers. In Indonesia there is the Ki title, the dalang behind the Ki. Ki Cermo Sutejo.

13.

Conversation between professor pak Udreka and darmasiswa student Sasa.

Pakeliran pedalangan class, Pedalangan ISI Yogyakarta, December 7, 2015.

(The conversation was in Indonesian language - my translation to English)

pak Udreka: Language is very important. There are special languages for each puppet character. The voice is included in language. If you want to know what the meaning of the language is, later it turns out to be one with the puppet.

Sasa: But I believe it can be with other languages.

pU: It can be. This can be in English, in Italian, in German. But I believe that there is no unity between the dalang and his soul, because Javanese wayang will be different even using Balinese language. And apart from that if you later learn about the history of how wayang became like this, then oh.. it turns out..

The problem of how can everyone understand wayang is another problem. The difference is that if we learn about the past, how we unite our feelings with the puppet and how we will play wayang, there are limits.

I learned wayang pak Kasman, wayang ukur, around fifteen years ago. When I first held wayang pak Kasman, it was very stiff, because wayang pak Kasman is not classic. And which language will I use? Pak Kasman made wayang ukur by measuring the form of classical wayang, while taking the features from Western art. I have been a player of wayang pak Kasman, but until now I have not been able to feel my union with wayang pak Kasman. Very difficult.

S: Maybe because your process since you was a child is with classic wayang.

pU: Oh it's not like that, that's not the problem. Wayang pak Kasman departs from the classic but with Western decoration and shape as experimentation. Since it is still in searching, it is not united.

In wayang terms it is manusma. Manusma makes it such that once I grasp a wayang I immediately become this, but with wayang pak Kasman I find it very difficult. Until now there has been no establishment, meaning that wayang ukur is not yet established in good taste. I feel stiff, I don't feel right, even using the Javanese language, I cannot engage.

S: For you what is the most important while performing? The spectators, karawitan..

pU: I think about how I can be satisfied, then those who invited me also satisfied, and the bearer also satisfied.

S: Who are the spectators that now can enjoy? The elders, the youth, the girls, the boys?

pU: Each area is different.

S: Now I watch a lot of wayang and I enjoy observing those who continue to stay up to the end, the ones who laugh, the participants are the older generation. The others, women and child when limbuan is finished, they returned home, like they wait for limbuan because it's funny and go home, so how is it now?

pU: It is not so sure.

S: Nothing is the most important?

pU: Yes, the important thing is do my work, maybe because I live with wayang, but also because I have a moral responsibility since I was invited by people and I was given money as a balance, I had to satisfy the person who requested it. The person responded to the community and the spectators, so I automatically had to think about how they could enjoy. So I have to prepare as much as possible, how should I arrange the story, how should I arrange the accompaniment, how should I say other sounds, how should I say money, how should I say much other stuff. From the first character until the last from the box, the spectators are still.

You should observe how is there, there, or there, because wayang performance is not merely a show, there is a person who invited the puppeteer to do something. There are many other things you need to learn behind. In the northern area of Parangtritis it is made wayang that does not need to be full, but it is as a suggestion. As a treatment it is carried out in the village because it is believed that otherwise the idea is that the village will have a disaster, that is. So whoever is the dalang behind, the important is wayang happens.

There are wayang or levels of wayang. According to the tradition there is wayang pendopo, there is wayang padisan, there is wayang priyayi, there is wayang kebonan. Wayang priyayi is requested by a high rank person, such as the kraton, now probably the ministry. Then there is wayang pendopo: rich people have the pride to be able to invite puppets and there is a dalang who appeared. Then there is wayang kebonan, the kebonan is requested by the community like merdi dusun, bersih desa, circumcision and others. And there is a wayang that can be said mahliki, mahliki is special. Maybe this wayang is like a suggestion, ruwat bumi. Ruwat bumi is like someone cleansing the house that has many dirties. So that everyone who worships in the house may be hurt, perhaps many experienced obstacles. It has to be revised through wayang in order to be comfortable.

Maybe wayang with ruwatan sukerta, sukerta is for example... have you read about ruwatan? So for example children born in this order: boy – girl – boy, previously they have to be threatened by wayang for their safety. Did you know that?

S: No. Why do they have to?

pU: It is the conviction. Batara Kala, a giant, wants to eat them. For example children born in this order: girl – girl must be treated through wayang; boy – boy too.

S: Is this for faith? And this is like a ritual? But when did wayang start to become a performance art?

pU: Read S. Haryanto's book about that, yes read it. The title is "Pratiwimba adhilihung" about wayang history and development. Then about ruwatan read the book by professor doctor Soetarno.

14.

Interview with Indra Setiawan, student at AKNSBY course of tatah sungging, or wayang kulit puppets' carving and coloring.

Sanggar Seni Budaya Bhuana Alit, Ganjuran, Bantul, DIY, April 20, 2016.

(The interview was in Indonesian language – my translation to English)

Giulia Panfili: What about wayang – stories, shadows or characters – call your attention first?

Indra Setiawan: The first time I see wayang, right? Actually in the past when I was child, my parents often invited me to wayang, in the villages still often there were wayang performances. Well, at that time, my parents invited me even though I didn't know how to watch the all night. It happened also by truck to go see wayang. Well the first time, how it was? At that time I was at the elementary school, I didn't know yet, I was just amazed, it didn't exploded yet, it is a process. I was invited to watch wayang several times and I imagined is that the story in wayang really happened? Is that the ancestors, the gods era really existed? From that imagination arouse a love for wayang all the time... and when child, if you want to sleep the parents like wayang too, the neighbors keep watching wayang, there weren't many houses yet, the radio sound wayang loudly. Indirectly, it was a conduit for sleeping, so the wayang stories make comfortable and the wayang characters also learn as adults. Since child I feel comfortable with wayang atmosphere, but for specializing on wayang character traits and copying examples of puppets, it was when an adult.

GP: What changed, if something changed, from the first time you see wayang?

IS: What changed in wayang itself... first, from the perspective of the community, people in the past were really comfortable with the situation. How can I say how does it change? In the past, for example when the goro-goro scene arrived, when the funny wayang entered, when Semar or Punokawan came into the scene, it changed in terms of performances in the past, how was its essence of the past? It was the height of funny in the past, that made the community really come for it. The wayang performance in material expenses also was not so heavy to be held as it is today. Then, the difference nowadays of wayang has been encumbered outside pakem, in order to follow the market. Wayang before used to be really focused, on the story and on the pakem.

Now wayang performance is mixed with sinden, very sexy, indeed wayang show are few, but the sinden and whatever out of the performance are many. Later, wayang is mixed with dangdut. Like that, and that's what the market is asking for now instead. That's like a double-edged knife. It means that the demand is indeed like that, but in reality we are somewhat getting out of.. how is it? the essence. Personally, wayang really inspired me. Maybe like pak Sukasman who said 'wayang is a religion', in my

opinion wayang philosophy is more than a religion. What illustrates my life, what inspired is about the balance of a puppet, how the good and the evil. The white side and the black side of the world is like that. It has to spin like that, which ... what make us play is what we try to balance it. So it's not possible to chase all the white ones. For example, what is happening now is that the police want to eliminate all the bad guys, it's just theories and it's not ..., if there is not a bad guy, what the police do if there are no bad guys. Like in the Netherlands, many people are closed in jail now because there is no crime, and that crime is again at a level not seen anymore. What makes the essence of the puppet is the philosophy of balance that I personally admire, that makes me so inspired.

GP: You just talked about wayang essence, could you explain me what is the essence?

IS: In my opinion, the essence of wayang, you want it or not, even though wayang exist since animism, long before Hinduism came. But inevitably have to respect the whole process. The essence is for example in the past when goro-goro, just came, just stepped, Semar said something that wasn't much funny yet sophisticated. So if it would be applied now, maybe a lot of young people are confused which one is funny? People are boring out in laughter, that's the difference, one more. If you want to learn wayang, to know the essence of wayang, one of many is that wayang cannot be separated from the teachings of the Vedas. Nowadays many puppeteers are conditioned to be able to perform but not learn the vedas. For example, Durna, Pandeta Durna is someone who even though ended up in the wrong place, he was the teacher of the Pandawa. Durna's wife however is a horse. How come his wife is a horse? Jokes like that happens. Then there is Batara Guru, at the highest position, Shiwa. The dalang take Batara Guru and make it limping, how come? The essence is that the excessive, the outrageous is hit. Yes maybe people now can laugh, but in my opinion, that's the difference, they might lack the character. Even though the characters already have a foundation, even though want to be funny or whatever, you have to keep the trackline of wishful thinking until Batara Guru is limping or Durna's wife is a horse. That is.

GP: Ok, well, can you tell me your life story?

IS: In my personal life culture is the number one that I will defend, maintain culture through the path of the arts, but you want it or not it needs power. The power of the capital, that for me is the last, the power of connection, of knowledge, of trust. What I want, I have the fortune of this land, my brothers and sisters, the community, it's all already there. I'm already grateful that I held pancasila as a basis. For the future I visualize the temple shape, from the gate until full. On the west side, I want to put a kind of staircase like in temples. Later it will be a place for art activities, dancing or whatever in the temple, on the rock that I set up there. This is my idea indeed for that. Is this a madness or anything in the eyes of society I do not know. All the different religions gather here. I do not say spirituality because surely I get an attack, so let's those who want join the cultural arts here. Like that is my wish for this place.

GP: Why? What in your life make you have ideas and hopes like that? If I may ask..

IS: Personally, want it or not, talking about culture we come to religion. Back to the year 1967, I was told by my grandfather from my mother, even though he was an Islamic KTP, he said to people 'I am Buddhist'. Until the end of his life he said that, my grandfather call the death *moksa*. My grandmother went to the market, her child was told to go to the rice fields, when she returned home, my grandfather was no longer in a corner of the house and did not bother anyone else. Before the death was like that. In the past I ignored it, how come that he claimed to be Buddhist I ignored. My grandfather was an *abdi dalem*, a grave guardian. My father often tell me he only worked two months for the palace, his salary was Rp. 150. How come only Rp. 150? My father throws the sandals as my grandfather. This is not what makes us alive, but the fact is that makes us peaceful and honest. My grandparents moved to Islam, but *kejawan* nuances were very strong and continue. So I was also passionate ... even though all of my friends baptized when babies, because my father used to gamble, a community leader said 'if you don't stop it, your son cannot be baptized'. So finally I ended up baptized when adult. That's why I don't have a baptism in my birth certificate, I used to be angry for that, in the past I was also a catholic militant, very active. If someone don't go, I used to go home to the church. In fact, my father always say 'according to your grandfather, the teachings of religion are only clothes. The spiritual level is breaking that limit'. I was angry, I didn't like that. The point is that God only exists in the church, I was like this at the beginning. Then finally when I entered the high school, I was the only catholic in a class of Muslims. The intimidation, the Catholic even though do the good, in the Koran remained an unbeliever. So you do the good, but you still go to hell. You are not able to go to heaven if you are not Muslim. That was for four years. Even though grandfather's teachings were not like that. Then, I don't remember in which grade, I met a Christian girl. All I know is that Jesus is the same in the churches. Well, her name was Marselina Roselina Ramli if I'm not mistaken, I invited her to the church. Then finally there, how come it's different here, not like Catholic church. There were people singing, crying, singing, and then speaking in tongues. It is said that who know that language is only you and God. Satan can't understand if you learn spirit language. She kept calling me every day. I wanted to be baptized again in Christianity and I said 'the important is that Jesus is the same' after that I was not contacted again by her. I was disappointed. Did she trouble just because I wanted to be a protestant Christian? Well, there was a lot of Christianisation. Many conflicts here, there, in the community until I finally went to work in Italy. The media said that atheist don't believe in God. It turns out I found that the human side of that person is greater. That is, I thought on the human side there is something else, then the concept of God here is not enough extensive, and finally after one year of contract on the cruise, luckily I met a man 'can you speak English? Now you work at the museum'. At the museum of culture. Everyone interviewed was graduated, some in history. When I was interviewed 'What do you know about museums?' I said 'nothing sir', then 'Why are you interested in museums?' and I just said, 'My grandfather was in the kraton, sir, so I really want to explore culture'. I was accepted. After I explored, the literature related to wayang. This was amazing. I met

Hindu people, I met Buddhist people, who were extraordinary I have to pray for all of them, I met atheists who only learned functional aspects, I met agnostic people. A German guy said, I remember, 'we don't have religion but we still believe in God' and always say that. Then life is forged and with memories of the past and conditions of such events. This is the life I produced, even though about religion on ID card I'm still Catholic because I respect the village, the community, and the parents. As long as it still makes sense for me, if it is good for me, I do it. But if for breaking limits my spiritual is not enough.. that is why I learn kejawen that is extraordinary, which is unlimited, and combined with wayang it is very comfortable to enjoy the process I said earlier. Sukasman said 'my religion is wayang', for me it is more than religion, that's me.

GP: If I say 'wayang' what do you first think about?

IS: I hope wayang teachings will revive, so that easily all the people use wayang as a way of life, as a sample.

GP: When you meet someone, how do you introduce yourself?

IS: I do not talk directly, because each person has different view. There is who has one liter of knowledge, one liter of storage, two liters, three liters, five liters and so on. I don't feel taller, I just adjust. So when I communicate with others, I make them talk first, I always do this, so that I might know, oh ... the capacity is like this then we adjust. Just a small example, if I meet someone who want to admire wayang, the conversation is good, I would say Semar is like this, the shape can be like thi, simple. But if later he is interested in who Semar actually is? Well, it can be adjusted, the volume can be added. I would talk about the old teachings, to their mental freedom. It is imprisoned in the cerebellum with dogma from the outside, then the teachings that enter directly already. That's the wrong teaching, he doesn't want more, already closed himself. To be dug up depends first on the interlocutor later it is adjusted, if you hit a lot, many enemies later.

GP: In ID card you have to write your religious belief but also the profession, right?

IS: I'm lucky I was not baptized soon, because my name is not Christian. Yesterday, my teacher at Widya Mataram said 'Do you want to learn wayang?' with his head black, when people pray often, it became black here in the head. 'You are very creative' and he gave the proposal 'this is a scholarship for this'. He didn't know yet my background, when he knew was already done, my name benefited me. When I worked abroad, I was with Balinese and Indians because of my name Indra. Indra is the name of god. It is neutral actually, in this country is still like this, religion becomes an important subject of fear, even in ID card if there is no religion later when died how to bury the body?

GP: Well, during wayang performance what do you feel or think?

IS: To enjoy is very complete, just as ... now if I see it, I don't think of enjoying it, but it is more to pain. when can this usually last? until when they valued it like this, of that kind. Maybe that's the tendency. Like in Sono Budoyo museum, for two hours show he only get the salary of a wage laborer stirred that night, sorry, just like that, they also came by bicycle. Can you repeat the question, what do you think going to the show?

GP: Yes, but you already replied actually

IS: Besides that, there is a concern that arises because of admiration, an incredible admiration. It is from that infinited admiration thatthe worry comes from.

GP: It might be difficult to explain wayang to children or whoever doesn't know wayang. How do you explain wayang?

IS: To children? to friends? or to whom?

GP: To children or maybe to whom never saw wayang before, is it almost the same or not?

IS: Oh ... it is different

GP: Why?

IS: I like making it fun for children.

GP: How?

IS: For example, if there are people here, the tendency is to play internet, what are you playing with, I make it fun 'come on, let's have fun', just make them happy first, to practice 'try to exercise with your eyes', raketang make what, something, the child feels 'oh, this is different from the others'. First, they draw wayang, they are free, the important thing is that wayang has the stick, so they are open first. The most important thing for children is to enjoy. With my friends, it is clear that when speaking about wayang, first thing is culture, if religion they would be closed-minded. If the friends say work of art will continue to spread to the advice of each character. Even though sometimes you know ... Semar iki putune sopo prophet? That's right. Semar iku putune sopo prophet? Our Dadi is always made selali as the last branch, even though semar is according to Ve Sudiro what I read is a realist artist, that is alpha omega and limited, so it is through culture, through art for explaining to friends. To foreign guests, when at Sono Budoyo I explained it more to that earlier. But even before explaining, they were already enthusiastic. They understand that what to do is following the flow and the concept of balance. Buddhism, the everyday teachings of our ancestors. Ancestral culture is actually above religion.

GP: What is wayang then? Is it more a belief?

IS: In my opinion? Wayang is belief, life guidance, spirituality in terms of the soul, well in terms of art too, the process. You already know how people make wayang in the past. Black was made with traditional lamps to be scorched. You can imagine making soda to make the angus mixture using jangkang fruit, jangkang trees or similar to pillars and it turns out that it was a pillar in the Hindu era, the tree was used to maintain food as holy, like that in the cemetery, of thousands years old. Making white with bone in terms of wayang process is extraordinarily long, that's an example. If you like a women nowadays you just say 'I like you' by sms and then you are rejected too via sms 'I don't' even though the feelings are to make a letter, leave it to a friend the process is completely manual just like that. So this is what makes this a different process and the results are different, cannot match instantly.

GP: Can you tell me about the philosophy, maybe the philosophy of aesthetics or ethics in wayang?

IS: I'll try. The philosophy is clearly about good and bad, created essentially balanced. How can explain the philosophy? For example, the character that I was doing, Kala Bendana is ridiculous, that is the role, and is a monster. He is an ugly monster but he is kind, honest, cannot lie, so what he knows, he honestly says. When he get to know about Abimanyu cheating, right he wanted to talk to his wife he suddenly was blocked by Gatotkaca, his own nephew. Finally Kala Bendana's head was broken down because he wanted to talk, but he was moksa. According to Javanese teachings, Kala Bendana was destroyed because of his honesty by his own nephew Gatotkaca, which at the end was killed by Karna in order to go to nirvana together, this is one philosophy. What make me feel interest is not Arjuna. What I like most among all actually is Karna, he is the real central figure for me. Kunti if I am not mistaken is his mother. She got the child out of her marriage, then she was embarrassed and she thrown him away, automatically the caste layer removed. Finally when an adult Karna discovered to be the eldest brother of the five Pandava. His life was a struggle, he has kind heart, but he was never given a portion of justice to the creator and he was complaining about circumstances like he always tried to be a good person but why the conditions were like this. Who respected Karna was Duryudana who gave him a job. He didn't know that Duryudana was in conflict with the Pandava. He had to fight Arjuna and Kresna, actually he received from Batara Surya the immunity, no weapons could attack him but when he was about to fight the war Batara yudha was told that a gentle knight would remove the anti-weapons and he finally reluctantly released 'ok I want to fight against Arjuna in male is released, he already has no weapons he still has an arrow that can to direct. Arjuna can avoid any arrow, but Karna was given a special arrow by Batara Indra to kill to shoot Arjuna. He was fighting again against Krishna when Gatotkaca came, he arrested Duryodana, Duryodana wanted to be killed by the giant Gatotkaca even though the arrow was only used once, it could not be used twice. It was actually for Karna killing Arjuna, but finally was sacrificed to save Duryodana, even though the arrow could only be used once. In Java, the arrow head was filled with Kala Bendana and was released to kill Gatotkaca. It was said that his role was correct but he had been placed in a disadvantage from where he was still fighting again. I still want to

fight Arjuna with an arrow. The charioteer doesn't want to be with Karna, he still doesn't fit, he never wanted to, so the horse, the chariot and the charioteer were not matching. So it was difficult to avoid, even though Karna's opponents Krishna, Vishnu and Arjuna at a time were there, that the cart's wheel just got stuck into the mud. He asked permission "May I have the opportunity to lift this cart. This charioteer does not want to care about it, give me permission to lift the wheel first, then fight again". While the sun was going down, Krishna said "if the sun go down you do not have the opportunity to kill Karna". Saying that, then Arjuna crying release the arrow and Karna was killed when in position of raising the wheel. It happens to people nowadays, even though we try to be good, but our way of thinking is not positive, this is in terms of philosophy. Anyway I am against it because it exaggerates Arjuna's attitude and character, he is indeed unlucky. The fighter's soul is indeed extraordinary.

In regard to ethics, in terms of appearance is represented by the color of the wayang face, if red is tempered; black is wise; like this is arrogant; like this is respectful. This is ethics.

Aesthetics? Aesthetics in terms of its impact can be very long, so aesthetics in terms of performance, I can say is in unity with the gamelan... in the past there was still a priority for offerings... and that's an extraordinary combination, especially if I look at the aesthetics of beauty. What I explore even deeper there must be that, instead that's why the Javanese people prefer to see from behind? Geber, why doesn't he want to see "this is inside the puppets, if the intents are knocked out, the color is like this" like this personally? That is a mystery aesthetics, meaning that the original Javanese prefer abstracts, because the color is too clear to me, it destroys focus. It means that this is in terms of the highest again, you know, not in terms of beauty, art, or anything. The color in the spiritual in my opinion breakdowns the focus. Before Hinduism came to Java, if you want to make a sacred scripture you make the story, you experience the imagination and the teachings can be written down, more literary is the Middle East. Javanese people prefer the teaching is direct vocal. I want to teach my child about life. I want to teach the coconut tree is good for this and this, I do not invite to plant a coconut tree, I do not invite then there is no writing, so the claim failed. Now the claim is for example in terms of the aesthetic appreciation, the appreciation is not deeper if who makes it is different, because it does not split focus when listening and vague. Try it yourself Giulia, you have a photo too much colored here and an old one just black and white, how do you feel?

Pak Sukasman made a wayang that could penetrate, from behind could be seen the colors. The coloring was made in Germany if I'm not wrong.

Responding to the market is amazing but something is missing, the shadow is something abstract that cannot be reached, in my opinion.

About aesthetics also for the people it is indeed a combination of gamelan, all of which, I know that there is no cultural product. Instead of defending the ethnic, there is not a society that valorizes how the unification in terms of art, sound, motion, and performance, this is the excelent of wayang. Even Indians who have stories lose in front of Javanese creations.

IS: For example, if I tell you the wayang history, at first it was animism, dynamism to neutralize a place. If you know from the puppets that the first time he opened the

forest he had to play a symbol so that the evil spirits, the beliefs before entering Hinduism had been a long time, right? And until now it is still twirling around it, so that the work was the teachings of this life, you know, human reflection be safe, ben don't over-come here, over there, it's rich, it's just repeated. Yesterday, when the exhibition at the Indonesian Education Museum was held, there were two kyai, he kyai, he made the wayang continued the spirits in art, so semar, petruk, gareng were given katok katlang, you know, typical Wahaby you know, given this turban. that. Then he reasoned that he said this way, "wayang is not only a performance," he made the wayang continued, continued meaning means to continue, so that the teachings used in the puppet continue to be used in people's daily lives. Actually the spirit is the same Same wayang puppet predecessor cuman maybe he created it there and even though wayang wahyu, wayang does not mean that I puppet wahyu is in action. Not I excel, you know, but that was earlier.

GP: So what are you doing with contemporary puppets? Like wayang hip-hop or wayang bocor?

IS: In my context? people say, if like that it will destroy the wayang pakem and damage the order, if it damages later what is left behind. i think it's the opposite, it actually becomes a positive thing maybe I have told you before , like that purwo puppet, like pecel, gado-gado, all vitamins are there, all energy, vitamins, nutrition are there but the person is definitely bored, definitely has something new. Let them eat chicken noodles with a lot of sauce, lots of monosodium glutamate, good at the beginning, good at the beginning, fresh tour, delicious. But later, how come my body is limp, eating a lot of chicken noodles, eating meatballs so it doesn't become rich, people used to be 80 to 90 years old, how come my friends eat micin, borax, preservatives, 65 years old, they die. Finally he knew for himself, it turns out that this one was taught this complete simbah, surely he from so let it be. Let wayang develop, later when the point is saturated like pak Sukasman who run to wayang ukur until the peak and how come he returned to wayang purwa again. Many people say wayang kontemporer will destroy wayang purwa's popularity, finished. I think it is strength, instead. The person needs to be dropped first before knowing the one with vitamins, the nutritious one turns out to have been complete here, so is wayang today, let thousands of wayang be. I posit myself in wayang wahyu the community standard is so. I am responding to the community, not wayang wahyu is the number one.

GP: What do you think wayang stories talk about?

IS: The question is difficult, in my opinion wayang wisdom is plural. Wisdom in determining politics, in determining the state of the economy, power even in Ramayana the romanticism of love. Wisdom is indeed broad, humans with nature itself. That was what you felt human with the universe. I want to add that humans and our universe are actually already part of the universe, we are part of small particles like the universe, and in my opinion, agnostic, because I still believe there is a god that is not mixed, so that the universe is a visible god. And there is a God who does not appear, so from the beginning was questioned: why God doesn't disclose?

why does it bother me? do we really have God's light here? In that tree there is the spirit of God. But people who do politics don't want to go that far, so I add again, that is the infiniteness of the universe, humans, the universe appears and the unseen are like the God. So that might be ridiculous.

GP: How to relate with the universe?

IS: What do I think? It is like electricity when we think positively, even though we are small, when we think positively the natural response swells us positively. This is as far as I know and I honestly still try to be like that. We are indeed small in the form of parts of nature but we, with our smallness with us positively, the aura of positive natural resonance, the negative aura behind it is negative. Like this, like nuclear, let's push the small button with a big explosion. So from there just believe. I have not yet, so I try to continue to do positive things. Shock the positive aura, then he will not be quiet because he is alive. He will also transmit another positive aura to the others, and gradually it will enlarge. And it seems that it is also for the nature that inhabited the earth, right?

GP: Do you think wayang give message to the audience and if so which message?

IS: Who is it? What message does that puppet give to the public? the puppeteer or the puppeteer through wayang imagery or wayang itself as a symbol?
Can we stop for a moment?

GP: No problem.

15.

Interview with pak Juaraaya, expert in the dance *Langen Mandra Wanara*.

Sanggar Ayodya, Sembungan, Bangunjiwo, Kasihan, Bantul, DIY.

April 30, 2017.

(The interview was in Indonesian language – my translation to English)

pak Juaraaya: The knowledge must be sought where the knowledge is. For example, pak Margiono is an informant especially for wayang. ISI University already asked him about wayang characters. He is a resource person, a knowledgeable person. Those of us who are looking for knowledge don't have to go to universities. I do Javanese opera, that is a wayang story, Ramayana series. The dialogues are songs.

[He sings in Javanese].

Giulia Panfili: What does this song mean?

pJ: It means that the king of Alengka, Rawana, agrees with the opinion of patih. Patih is the prime minister, the president submits to the prime minister. So, firstly I do Langen Mandra Wanara, a dance but kneeling on the floor. Like this [he shows the

position] knees like this, using your knees, not stand up. The performance is here; the people are there.

This is a giant, if in a battle is like this [he shows characters' positions]; Sugriwa Subali; if smooth, for example Rama Laksmana, is like this.

I have to do with culture

The palace is the center of culture. The palace servants and the royal family learned, then the palace servants brought home in the area of their respective kings and taught to their respective groups

GP: Pak Juaraya is abdi dalem [courtier] too?

pJ: not yet.

[Dancing] oh what a beautiful movement, like waves, like fluxus, up and down up and down. This is the giant character of before.

Supatma... please read what I mean.

GP: [Reading] Supatma in the article entitled "Langen Mandra Wanara traditional opera" explains that today Langen Mandra Wanara is rarely touched by the public and even today none of the DIY arts organizations really fill their organizational activities by practicing Langen Mandra Wanara. RRI as the traditional art custodian has rarely published Langen Mandra Wanara dance operas.

What is the meaning of Langen Mandra Wanara?

pJ: *Langen* delight, *mandra* means many, *wanara* are monkeys.

GP: even if it is held now, only using an existing recording form, it is also very rare. Another fact is that the old keepers who were involved with, are already not easy to found, there are only a few that can still be asked for information. It's a pity that even the original stories has been lost. It is true that the documentary tradition in Indonesia has just started meanwhile many have been lost before we have even recognized or observed. Of the many villages where artists used to do Langen Mandra Wanara performances, only Sembungan village, in Kasihan Bantul sub-district, still actively train and perform Langen Mandra Wanara. In addition, in the area of Sawojajar, Yogyakarta in the house of bapak Wiyoga Atmodarminta routinely every *minggu pahing* [Javanese Calendar] Langen Mandra Wanara is diselenggarakan.

pJ: So here, Sembungan, is still known by the DIY Department of Culture. Finding source people is very difficult, but there is still one that is active in Sembungan. It's me.

GP: Pak Juaraya with who learned Langen Mandra Wanara?

pJ: With the elder people here, but I used to learn Tejoksuman if now Klidopoksa Wirama. I myself have studied Javanese dance in Kaneman, Sesama Puksa used to be two years old, then I read the people who are Able, Pande ...

So the national operetta with Javanese stories and singings. Langen Mandra Wanara is Javanese dance with song. Rahwana Watasena [singing] Rawana approaches Sinta to having her as wife: "I am more powerful than Rama, I am a famous king" in order to convince her.

GP: Which character do you used to be?

pJ: Sugriwa, Rawan, since I was considered skillful, I made the main characters. Sugriwa is the king of monkeys. He is like this

GP: Sorry, but when did you born?

pJ: I was born in 1954, first performing in 1967. This is the figure of Sugriwa. This is Subali. Brother, but always fighting. This is Sugriwa; he conducted a monkey's army, he wanted to kill his brother because of a fight for a girl. Rama, who wants to find Sinta, helps Sugriwa, and later Sugriwa helps Rama to look for Sinta. Rama killed Subali, and eventually Sugriwa became prime minister of Rama.

I became the training's director, the teacher, and the source person. I write the stories; the request might be of an hour, half an hour, maybe fifteen minutes.

This way, I am a civil servant of culture saying that there are children who are happy to see the puppet, asking for the name, school. In the past I invited people to join here until now, not only from Bantul, but from the city, Kulon Progo.

GP: How many kids are studying here?

pJ: Thirteen. These people are not necessarily training, but practicing. Were you at Sugro Kasih yesterday?

GP: Yes, pak Juaraaya was there too? We didn't meet.

pJ: Yes, I had to work in the garden; I have only listened via radio. Mataram buara sounds nts.

Activities, time content, the desire is to have a gamelan. I make it in order to finally being able to have a gamelan. I hope I can have a gamelan. Already a few years, it is not complete that one, no, only one by one.

GP: Can the instruments' sounds match?

pJ: Yes, the size is good.

How many months have you been here?

GP: nearly two years. Soon in two more months I go back Europe.

pJ: Then, mbak Jul is researching wayang? Is an academic or a personal project?

GP: I am a student; I proposed the project to study wayang and the university accepted.

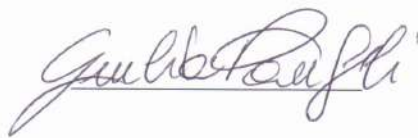
pJ: Mas Kasidi from pedalangan made doctoral study on *suluk* [poems sung by the dalang]; finally he became professor of sulukan. Maryono is a master in dance, wayang topeng, it is used to stand but the walking is tilted, for example like this, this is wayang topeng.

At ISI dance department there is Sarjiwo, Supatmo, Suwodjo, Sumalyono, Tapabuja Suoro, if women Garuni, Luksukati...

DECLARAÇÃO

Declaro que esta tese é o resultado da minha investigação pessoal e independente. O seu conteúdo é original e todas as fontes consultadas estão devidamente mencionadas no texto, nas notas e na bibliografia.

A candidata,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Gabriela', written over a horizontal line.

Lisboa, 29 de Julho de 2020

Declaro que a tese de Doutoramento de Giulia Panfili se encontra em condições de ser apreciado pelo júri a designar.

A orientadora



Nélia Susana Dias

Lisboa, 29 de Julho de 2020.

DECLARAÇÃO

Declaro que esta tese se encontra em condições de ser apreciada pelo júri a designar.

O coorientador,

Brian Inan O'Neill

Lisboa, 29 de Julho de 2020